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THE WOMAN'S INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN.

THE great International Congress to which the world of women workers has been looking forward for so long, has come and gone, and what has it left behind it? That is the question which those who have been behind the scenes are asking themselves, as they see the curtain fall.

That the Congress has been a success is indisputable and is testified to from most unexpected quarters. The fact that meetings on the most varied subjects, going on in five sections simultaneously for a week, were always crowded by persons who had thought it worth while to pay for their seats, is sufficient evidence in itself. A list of over two thousand five hundred members of the Congress, a financial balance on the right side, and a collection of valuable papers presented by some four hundred speakers from different parts of the world, and experts on their own subjects, these are the visible results we have left to us.

Has the chief use of the Congress been, then, to mark the immense advance in the interest in women's work shown by women themselves, to demonstrate their increased ability to organize, and to produce a permanent record of the progress made along the several lines of thought and activity dealt with?

These are fragments of the truth, but only fragments; and in-

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deed, at the present moment, we are not in a position to judge the matter we are considering in its right perspective, for we are too near it.

But of one thing we are sure, and that is, that a vision has been vouchsafed to us during the course of these gatherings, revealing to us something of what *may* be, if the workers for the weal of the world, men and women alike, will enter into a compact to help one another, to learn from one another and to stand by one another. There are some who lament that a more practical turn could not have been given to the Congress by the passing of resolutions focussing the feeling of each meeting. These do not see that, in their desire for immediate progress in the sphere of their own special efforts, they might well imperil all the wonderful possibilities which are latent in a movement which will bring the world's workers into real relations with one another, on the understanding that, however different their views, they are each giving their best to the world according to their own light.

The chief aim of the International Council which convened this Congress is to promote greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, amongst women workers of different nations; and therefore its Constitution does not permit it to identify itself with any movement of a controversial nature, but directs it to form a centre, a common meeting place for all who seek to work for the good of their kind. The mere contact thus brought about we look upon as of the highest value, and how often have we not had evidence of this throughout this Congress? "I have just been listening to ————'s paper; it *was* a surprise to me. I never thought *she* looked upon the matter in that light. I never knew the facts of the case were of *that* nature." Such were the remarks frequently made by workers whose faces showed that a new thought had been received, and that they meant to think it out.

Do not influences of this character brought to bear on one being who is in touch with the spirit of another, mean much more in the long run to the world's progress than a definite stimulus given to a few causes at the expense of others upheld by supporters who feel henceforth that they are not wanted, and therefore had better withdraw from our Conferences?

Besides, public opinion has an instinct for being right, and when it has an opportunity of hearing rival views and theories,

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impartially stated on both sides, the truest and the best are generally strengthened. The causes, therefore, based on justice and right are bound to win, and need never fear a fair opportunity being given to their opponents to state their views.

Another regret has been expressed, that speakers have for the most part been tied down to preparing papers of definite and circumscribed length, instead of being allowed to address their audiences without written notes. Doubtless this has tended to make it difficult for the speakers to make their voices carry far enough in many cases, because of the tendency to let the head drop when reading, but, on the other hand, the Congress has profited immensely by the carefully arranged information packed into the papers, which makes them of permanent value. As far as we can at present judge, the level of the papers was very high, and betokened a great amount of trouble which would probably never have been expended on spoken addresses. But of this the public can judge when we publish our volumes of transactions in the autumn.

Already, we hear of action being taken in various directions as an outcome of the exchange of views made at this meeting or at that.

I am not alluding to the special subject of International Arbitration, which, at the largest meeting in favor of this movement ever held in London, the International Council pledged itself to support, by furthering the cause of Peace through Arbitration by every means in its power.

I am rather speaking of such subjects as, for instance, Agriculture as a field for women, which was discussed at a most interesting and stimulating meeting, which, we understand, is to lead presently to a Conference on Agriculture another year. Women, as a rule, have neglected their responsibilities in this regard, and have not realized how necessary is a scientific knowledge of the principles underlying successful agriculture; and it is time for them to wake up and find out how much they can do if they have practical training.

But, at this moment, the first outcome of the Congress appears likely to be the consideration of the problem of the Housing of Educated Working Women in great cities, brought forward by Mr. Gilbert Parker at a Conference convened by the Council itself. Mr. Gilbert Parker has taken infinite pains to collect the

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facts of the case, as far as they exist in London, and, as there was no time for discussion, it was decided that a further independent meeting should be called to deal with the matter for London, and a resolution was also passed urging National Councils generally to make this a subject of special inquiry.

Mr. Parker brought a formidable indictment against the present condition of affairs. He takes as his client the educated woman earning from £50 to £140 by typewriting, secretarial work, research work for authors, etc., and eloquently depicts the sordidness of their life and the impossible conditions under which they labor. He pictured the girl brought up in a sheltered and refined home, thrown on the world and counting herself lucky in having found a position where she can earn from twenty to thirty shillings a week.

He gives three typical cases to indicate the class of workers for whom he pleads.

(1.) "Miss ———," a clergyman's daughter, assists a man who gives lectures to a large number of pupils, makes appointments, keeps the books, does all shorthand and typewriting, conducts his correspondence, etc. She tried various cheap boarding houses; but, finding none where cleanliness could be had at the figure she could afford to pay, now lives in a room in the South-western district, for which she pays ten shillings out of her weekly twenty-five. Breakfast and dinner cost her seven shillings and seven pence a week, 'bus fares sixpence a day, which brings her outlay up to twenty-one shillings; and out of the remainder she has to find a midday meal, washing, clothes, a fire on winter evenings, for which she is charged half a crown a week, and numberless small items in the way of boot cleaning, hot water fetching, etc.

(2.) "Miss J———," the daughter of a professional man who lost his money, having had a better literary education than usual, does research work at the British Museum for an author who pays her twenty-eight shillings a week. After a long day in that heavy atmosphere, poring over old French and German historical works, she makes the three-quarters-of-an-hour journey back to a tiny bedroom in Chelsea, where two people can scarce pass each other; and, after a hasty meal, taken off a tray on the bed, she spends the evening in translating and typewriting the results of the day's labor. For this room eight shillings and sixpence is

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charged, breakfast and dinner being supplied at sixpence and eightpence. Another daily expense for a bath brings the week's bill up to one pound and twopence; coals and the mysterious item, "kitchen firing," are eighteen pence, light is sixpence, shoe-brushing sixpence; and, after a weekly three shillings for 'bus fares, she is left with exactly two shillings and fourpence out of which to pay for her lunch and tea, washing, dress, newspapers, stamps, and recreation of any sort.

(3.) "Miss R———," the possessor of thirty shillings a week, is the daughter of a distinguished Admiral, whose sudden death left his family practically penniless. After she had learned typewriting, friends ultimately found a post for her with a well known charitable organization, where most of the routine of the office falls to her. She tried in vain for admission at the best homes for women she could hear of, but there was no single vacancy, and there were long lists of names waiting their turn. Being comparatively new to the struggle of life, and with her store of vitality as yet undiminished, she at last boldly plunged with a friend, and took a small unfurnished flat in a central part of London, where she has to pay half of the sixty pounds rent out of her eighty pounds a year; but then, as she says, once inside you can sit down and starve comfortably, and you can call your soul your own; which makes up for the sparseness of furniture, and for having to scrub the floors and do all the work yourself, to save a charwoman.

No wonder that one of these poor girls writes:

"What is it like—the working day of the woman who gets twenty-five shillings a week? Well, from the time she gets up in the morning, to snatch a hasty breakfast from a tray in her bedroom, ere rushing off to catch the train or 'bus covering the miles between her and her work, she has to endure a long day's unceasing toil under strain, often at uninteresting and mechanical work, in close air and unhealthy surroundings. Lucky if not expected to stay and overtake any extra arrears, she does the homeward journey over again at six o'clock, and returns fagged, headachy, and depressed to the 7 by 9 room where she has to stand up to let anyone pass. In addition to the physical and mental degradation that poverty brings, she has the galling sense of giving her best, and the fruits of an expensive schooling, for a pittance which is about half what is paid a junior clerk, of no education beyond the three R's. She knows, too, that the quality of her work hasn't a chance beside the fact that she is a woman, and women's labor is cheap, and if she doesn't take it, a hundred others will step into her shoes. The present monotony of her life leaves her nothing to look forward to, and no hope, through frugality, of saving

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out of a bare living wage. She has the knowledge, too, that each year will make it the harder for her to continue in keen competition with the younger, better-trained women, owing to the demoralization of her mind from sordid and meagre surroundings, scanty and badly cooked food, and an utter absence of recreation."

Mr. Parker concludes his paper by sketching out a plan that might be tried to meet the desperate need revealed, which, by instituting residential furnished mansions with accommodations for, say, 400 ladies in single bedrooms, at a rate of five or six shillings a week for lodging, and ten shillings for board and other expenses, might at the same time be made a financial success.

I need not go into further details here, as this scheme will soon be ventilated at a conference where those personally interested and those who have been carrying on kindred work, will meet to discuss Mr. Parker's scheme and to come to some decision as to what practical steps can be adopted at once. The eagerness with which the idea is welcomed by some of the girls themselves, as evidenced in private letters, is very touching; it would seem as if the mere suggestion of such a possibility opens up to them an Elysium.

Several of the foreign delegates present manifested great interest in the subject, and it is hoped that these will institute an inquiry on the conditions of educated working women in other large cities on the Continent and in America.

Here, at any rate, is a definite outcome, which can be taken as an illustration of how direct work of a practical nature can be initiated by the Council.

That this action should have been suggested by a man is in itself typical of the spirit of the Congress. We have sought to emphasize by every means in our power that we welcomed all to our platforms who were interested in women's work, and that we considered that women's work could only reach its highest development when done in co-operation with men, and regarding the home as the centre to work from.

It must be admitted that the meetings of the Congress have occupied the public eye rather at the expense of the International Council of Women, which all the while was sitting in business session striving to strengthen and develop and adapt to various circumstances the links that united the National Councils who have federated with us.

In some quarters it has been insinuated that our delegates

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were self-elected, and could not be held to be representatives of the divers countries from which they came. Nothing could be further from the truth. Our delegates from the United States, Canada, Germany, Sweden, Great Britain and Ireland, New South Wales, Denmark, Holland, New Zealand, and Tasmania, were all the regularly elected choice of the federation of Societies and Local Councils and Unions which in each country go to form a National Council, and thus can claim to be the representatives of the women workers of that country, by which term we mean the women engaged in philanthropy, education, professional, industrial or other public work. Our speakers were, for the most part, recommended by the same Councils, as possessing special knowledge in one department or another.

In countries where no Councils existed, such as France, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Russia, Austria, Norway, Victoria, South Australia, West Australia, Queensland, Cape Colony, the Argentine Republic, Committees formed on the same basis from members of several Societies made lists of speakers and recommended to us ladies who could act as Honorary Vice-Presidents. Our charming little Chinese representative, Madame Shen, whose keen, interested face was a feature at many of our meetings, and who begged us to correct our erroneous ideas about Chinese women being nonentities, was officially appointed from China through the Chinese Ambassador in England.

The one great regret felt by many of us when looking back, has been the lack of opportunity for making more personal acquaintance with our many visitors. London is so big and our guests were scattered in so many directions, the meetings were so numerous and so varied, and the private hospitality and the public recognition shown to us has been so generous, that the time at our disposal for seeing one another at leisure has proved far too scanty.

Nevertheless, the remembrance of the official reception held amidst the palatial surroundings of Stafford House, by the kindness of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, of the evening party at Lady Battersea's, where our visitors had the opportunity of meeting so many English notabilities, of the historic associations of Fulham Palace, where the Bishop of London and Mrs. Creighton made the whole Congress feel at home, and, lastly, of the magnificence of the final reception provided at beautiful Gun-

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nersbury Park by Lord and Lady Rothschild and Mr. and Mrs. Leopold Rothschild, will be held in grateful memory, and will be associated with the beginning of many friendships which will mean much, not only to those who have formed them, but to the world which will profit by the new inspiration that will flow from them.

The time has come when we should render thanks to the many to whom they are due, but we are bewildered by our indebtedness. Shall we begin by telling our one hundred and fifty young lady stewards of our gratitude for their laborious efforts on our behalf at all our meetings, or with the hostesses who have received our visitors as guests in their own private homes during our Congress, or shall we record our obligations to the Press and to the Pulpit for their serious consideration of our work? We know not where to commence and where to end, and we relinquish the task.

Three scenes, however, stand out which cannot be omitted from any retrospect of the Congress, however brief. The first was the opening gathering in the great Hall of the Church House, where representative women from all the continents of the world mustered for the roll-call, and presented their greeting with so suggestive and so strong an individuality in each case that, from that moment, the reality and the internationality of our Congress could no more be doubted. The next was the stately special service at Westminster Abbey, arranged by the kindness of the English Council, where, amongst all the memories of the heroes of the past, the Bishop of Southampton spoke words of encouragement to the women workers for the future. And last, but not least, there was the gracious reception given to the Foreign, American, and Colonial delegates by the Queen of England at Windsor.

It was a moving sight to see the aged sovereign, whose sixty years reign has done more for women than the centuries which preceded it, and whose name is loved and venerated in all the countries of the world, both as the ideal Queen and the ideal woman, slowly moving in her carriage across the quadrangle of the old Castle, past the long rows of women, who, in all parts of the earth, are trying to leave the world better than they found it. There was our new President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall; there was the Queen's contemporary, Miss Susan B. Anthony, who has

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borne herself throughout the Congress as if she were the youngest and keenest of us all; there were the dusky Indian women in their bright Oriental array, one of them carrying a sweet faced baby whom the Queen specially noticed; there were the delegates from far off Australia; there also was our Vice-President from France, Madame Bogelot, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, who, with bright, vivacious Madame Féresse Deraismes, again shows an example of activity and versatility not easily rivalled by the younger women. Representatives from Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, they were all there, together with Americans and Canadians; and to all the Queen gave that gracious bow and smile which bound their hearts to her forever as they lifted their voices in one sincere invocation of "God Save the Queen." That person would be strangely constituted who could look on that scene untouched, and certain it is that the memory of it will be cherished in many far away homes. As the Queen's guests poured into the banqueting chamber to partake of the refreshments so thoughtfully provided after the heat of the day there was a glow on every face, there was a ring of enthusiasm in every voice, which betokened much more than a passing emotion, and which showed how completely this gracious act of the Queen had crowned the success of our Congress gathering, and how potent it would be for good.

ISHBEL ABERDEEN.

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ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN.

BY KASSANDRA VIVARIA.

THE International Congress of Women is over, and with the departure of the last delegate from London the onlooker begins to claim his right of judgment, the right of awaiting results and of settling down into a feeling of satisfaction or of disappointment. As in most other manifestations of human thought or human energy, the outsiders have splintered into various groups, such as the totally indifferent, composed of the man who rashly despises and the woman who ignores, the entirely disapproving and the unrestrictedly enthusiastic. I find that a quite insufficient proportion of the crowd that thronged to hear the speeches at St. Martin's and the Westminster Town Hall, took the dispassionate and expectant view which would seem the only one possible under the circumstances. The general London public, which has assisted with a sort of dazed wonder at this phenomenon of a number of women, from foreign parts, too, gathering together and settling the affairs of the world in a few sentences, very decided and sometimes inefficient—when it has not entirely shrugged its shoulders, has either come away from the meetings in a state of delighted surprise, because it had only expected nonsense and had found an organization in magnificent working order, or of bitter disappointment because it had gone to hear finished orators, convincing argument, in short, "something new," and had gone in vain.

Many are those who flock out to the desert because there seems to be a kind of attraction, in other words a fashion, for flocking that way, and who know not what they are going out to see—a prophet, a man clothed in fine raiment, or a reed shaken by the wind. So that, whatever disappointment may be hovering in the atmosphere after the passage of such a "sign of the times" as the Women's Congress undoubtedly is—and disappointment

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does exist, except in the breasts of the members themselves—is perhaps as much the fault of the spectators as of the actors. Nevertheless, how many of the unenlightened who went forth to seek the prophet have found only the reed shaken by the wind—often, too, by an ill wind!

I think it unnecessary to dwell on the questions of detail which have lost the interest of actuality, the names of the delegates, the several divisions and sub-divisions of the work of the Congress. Such a catalogue would only have had a sort of guide book interest during the meetings, and is, moreover, to be found in the daily papers, which spoke at great length and with a sort of awe—mostly refraining from criticism or the expression of opinions—of the many distinguished ladies who represented the different countries in the various sections. What is now more important is to get, if possible, at what these women meant to achieve before they met, what is likely to be achieved by their having met, and, lastly, what to my humble way of thinking it would be desirable that they should achieve—very often, I am afraid, a completely different thing from what is either likely or intended. The results striven for by the mass of the Congress members, the results also which women are on the high road to obtaining, do not appeal to many, and I think justly, as being the absolute desideratum of feminine progress. Speaking personally, from personal conversation with actual delegates, and principally with women who did not form part of the International Congress, but were in other respects quite as remarkable as the women who did, it would not appear that this great meeting has marked any considerable or lasting step in the development of women's intelligence. And the fundamental amelioration of woman's intelligence is, surely, a more lasting ambition than to increase at haphazard the weight of her duties or to stretch out to bewilderment the horizon of her rights. True, increased rights bring increased duties, and the sense of manifold duties to perform, that are noble in themselves and beneficent in their effects, can only tend to augment that comprehension of our responsibility towards ourselves and towards others that is the only real and solid foundation of character. Woman, up to not very many years ago, was a creature of whims, the victim quite as much of her own want of reason as of man's tyrannous injustice. Intelligence in an average degree was not the average lot of the

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average woman, neither were self-reliance and reason and character, taken in its more restricted sense of firmness and consequence, the traditional heritage of the fair sex. All this is rapidly changing, and it must be confessed that the change has been wrought almost entirely by the increase of woman's prerogatives and responsibilities.

But where will the advantage be if the gaining of one set of qualities only leads to the losing of another, if developing one portion of woman's intellectual capacity means the stifling of the other, if we are getting out of old trammels only to fall into an abyss of new deficiencies?

It would, perhaps, be difficult for anyone not present at the meetings, for anyone not acquainted with the general atmosphere of the Congress, to realize the sense of vague disappointment and discomfort that wedged its way into the minds of many among the unbiassed yet alien audience. The very way in which the Congress was organized—and that was admirable—the smooth manner in which things proceeded, the automatic succession of lifeless speeches, had an uncanny effect on the mere listener, as of a monotonous cinematographic performance in black and grey, instead of an assembly where the most vital interests of the human race were being handled. "Are these women?" asked a countrywoman of mine who had spent an afternoon congressing with me, I am afraid in much the same spirit in which she would have spent it in shopping. "Is this how they like women over here?" And this last question I could not answer. I only observed that the worthy representatives of our sex did not perhaps care to be liked, or at least placed the mean desire to win approbation a step or two beneath contempt—a consideration wholly beyond the range of comprehension of my friend's limited Latin mind. And slowly, as I sat through meeting after meeting, in one and another of the numerous sections, the conviction dawned on me that there was something young and amateurish and beside the mark in many of the papers read, and that the general drift of these was to merge the individual work of clever women into a kind of collective fanaticism, to bring to the front too many of the women only capable of mediocrity, and to isolate the work of woman from the work of man. There are several remarks which I think no one who attended the Congress can fail to have made; for instance, that the

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standard of the speeches, apart from some brilliant exceptions, was not high; that the tendency was to lower the increased scope of woman's work, which is an ideal, into a sex question, which is a fad; that much that was said sounded illogical towards nature, and was intensely feminine in the calm ignoring of facts that have governed the world, and that, unless not social prejudices but physical laws can be reversed, must go on governing it. The space allotted to me does not admit of quotations or extracts illustrative of what I mean. I must therefore be content—and I purposed from the beginning to do nothing more —with jotting down impressions, with being a kind of echo of the thoughts that are busy here in most minds.

I have said that the standard of the papers was not high. There may be excuses for a weak speech in the mouth of a woman when no time has been allowed for her preparation, and when circumstances have forced her into public expression; but why any woman who did not feel herself qualified to speak with effect, and was not absolutely compelled to do so, should prefer platitudes to silence is a thing not very comprehensible to the ordinary human being, who does not think publicity the inevitable companion of solid achievement. That a good cause can be furthered by a bad speech is no argument, but many things from time immemorial have been explained away by woman's wit, and this peculiar form of unexpected logic is what woman's wit, taking the place of ability, has been trying to force on the world during the Congress, I fear without success. Most of the speakers had not the faintest idea as to the amount of workmanship necessary for the production of shapely periods; no idea how to articulate these periods once they were formed, how to find and group the argument most fitted to move an audience. Again, some of the subjects were so trite and poor that no oratorical genius could have lent them interest. About the papers treating of Arts and Crafts, there was an air of personal advertisement that was distasteful; about the papers touching on moral and social subjects, there was a want of foresight that bordered very closely, paradoxical as it may sound when we think that we are discussing the broadest feminine spirits of the age, on narrowness of mind. But broadness of attitude is not possessed by those who fear neither excessive change nor sudden innovation; only by the mind mature enough to see beyond the objects ranging across its vision. It is

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not enough for breadth of sight to take in a vast horizon; it is necessary to see beyond the horizon, and right through into the results of the changes and innovations that appear in themselves just or commendable.

And this brings me to my second conclusion: that the range of vision displayed by the various delegates was generally narrow, insomuch that it obviously tended to make the discussion of woman's wider possibilities of action a sex question—a sex question which is, at present, by the large majority of vehement woman-workers injudiciously treated, and therefore likely to produce disastrous effects on the final direction taken by the development of both man and woman. That there is no room for thousands of women in those avocations which were formerly their only sphere, is a thing to be deplored, since it cuts off so many from much that is best in life; it should be remedied as an evil, and not hailed as an advantage. That many women having a horror of housekeeping and fancy work should now be allowed to demand their right as individuals to employ their time and energies elsewhere, is no generous concession, and merely the application of strict justice; but that these women should refuse to work as human beings, and should try to specialize and sterilize their efforts by calling them Woman's Work is a trifle absurd and not a little dangerous to their own ideals. Why should a woman who does journalistic work be anxious to style herself a "Lady Journalist"—and not rest content with having succeeded in being simply a journalist? Why should the labor of this world be divided into woman's work as antagonistic to man's work, and not simply come under the grand and holy name of Work?

A persistency in this kind of isolation, of feminine freemasonry, is, to say the least, impolitic. Where will woman's effort be if, by dint of isolation, she should either estrange man from her struggle more than he is already estranged, or reduce the directing and supporting heads of the world to the state of puppets? We have seen them, these men whom hard, laborious, but selfish women had apparently taught that sweet femininity no longer exists, and would not be a good thing if it did. They are not many, and they are not good specimens. We have seen them, too, those other men whom woman has subjected by her intelligence and her exactions; following her lead and shining at her tea parties, and we have not found them men. Woman is in the majority,

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and whereas men are sometimes placed in such circumstances that they have no opportunity of exercising an influence on the younger generation that is growing up around them, woman, even when maternity is denied her, is always an educator. So that wrong notions, short views, erroneous tendencies, are of double the ultimate importance in woman that they are in man. And it seemed to me, in following the broad lines of the Congress, that the very last generation of "advanced" women have taken a wrong turning; and that, through the very rational intention, springing from an imperative necessity that work and livelihood should be found for the women whom the men are no longer numerous enough to support, as well as for those to whom the cares of domestic life are denied or insufficient, or do not appeal, a tendency is easily traceable by which a whole class of women are trying to force men from the occupations that are most fitted for them. Granted that the ambition of woman will be completely satisfied, and her feeling that justice should at last be done to her completely gratified, when she attains the enviable goal of doing indifferently that which men have done at times to perfection, is she so convinced that good will come to her or others by her assumption of these superfluous duties? Can woman's originality invent nothing better than the aping of man, whom she pretends to despise in his moral code and his little weaknesses? Can her ambition see no further than the grand ideal of doing "just" what men do, "nearly" as well as they do it? For it is useless to strive and fret, to stand up on platforms and argue that which nature, cruelly, perhaps, but definitely, has seen fit to settle long ago. Even when we shall have worn ourselves out with trying, there are some things which men do which we shall never do more than "nearly" as well. Is it worth while losing so much for anything so approximative as a second place? If it cannot be denied that some women must work, it surely must be wrong that they should work as the rivals and not as the comrades of that third of humanity which has borne the burden of material existence during the heat and fray of some few thousand years.

It may be argued that this spirit of eager rivalry is only a spirit of healthy competition. I do not think so. It is not healthy competition that suggests, even if only in the back chambers of thought, the suppression or lowering in the esteem of others of the competitors in the field. Nor is it by diminishing

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the notion of man, either in his abilities or his morality, that we shall make our triumph a thing to be proud of. No victory can be very glorious that is only won over foes that we have all along declared to be contemptible. It did not strike me as honest that only one or two women of the Congress should have spoken in favor of man, and of the possible advantages of a man's guidance. Nor did it seem to me a far-seeing spirit that would not see the element of danger contained in the heightening of competition, in a world where, apart from emigration which will not last forever, and domestic service, there is not enough work if we one and all insist on doing some of it. How is it we do not see that an exaggerated increase of workers will in the end only produce a lessening of the remuneration without increasing the demand? With the present craze for independent action of any kind, which ought to be controlled instead of exasperated, why strike a note likely to clog the thoroughfares with more competitors than ever? Art would be in a more encouraging condition if the consciences of those who love it were firm and restricted expression through any of its mediums to those who really have something to say. And this world's hard work—I am not speaking of amateur occupations—would be better done, easier to get, and more remunerative, if so many women who are placed under the necessity of appearing among the workers only by their own caprice and desire of advertisement, which they mistake for the zeal of the apostle, would rest satisfied with utter obscurity and stay away.

The sort of solitary splendor in which women are trying to cloak this modern form of morbid vanity called feminism, will be fatal to their own efforts, from the double fact that whatever social, administrative, legal or government concessions they may aspire to will have to be wrested from men and not from women, and that the intelligent men in whose hands so much of woman's future freedom resides, are generally found willing enough to yield points on the score of justice or humanity, but are totally callous and impossible to bias when the cause is put forward as a woman's cause, as a sex question. That man has still the advantage of women in many of the walks of life to which it is not only her right but her duty to obtain admittance, that much can and should be done for women in almost every direction of employment is so evident as to be beyond discussion, but that she will gain her end by an independent crusade in which men's sympa-

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thies cannot, for obvious reasons, be spontaneously enlisted, seems very doubtful. And for this I have vibrated in unison with the views of the Congress when the speaker happened to express herself in the name of downtrodden humanity or neglected justice, and have turned away perfectly indifferent when she spoke merely for Woman. Vibrated and turned away, not because I deny woman's right to demand a place in the world's arena, but because I deny the place of pioneer to the woman who will not be brave enough to forget the clamorings of sex, still her questions of far-fetched privileges, and work side by side with man, caring only that the work should be done somehow, finding no time to consider *which of the two* has done it or done it best, which individuality is going to be the necessarily sacrificed one of the two.

It has also seemed to me that the excessive spirit of sex was not doing any special good in the way of producing moral elevation of a certain kind. The lady who spoke of "*the unpaid services of the housewife*" would, I think, if her views were to be generalized, turn away from matrimony more men than already step back, frightened by the rather appalling aspect that so many modern women think it their duty to assume. Many of us have found it a revolting thought that all the services so sweet to render when love is there to prompt and insinuate, should sometimes have to be bartered for food, clothes, shelter and position, in the case of poverty-stricken girls, each brought up to marry a rich man for whom she does not care, should he only come her way, simply because the world—and especially society—are still hard on the unmarried woman, and persist in considering her, whatever the cause of her single condition, to a certain extent a failure. This, that so many women should be taught to trade on their person and freedom rather than work, has always seemed to me one of the true evils, in some countries more prevalent than in others; one of the true crimes of social organization, and the only true humiliation of woman's position. So that when a woman, in an unimpeachable assembly, seriously proposes that women should be paid for the services which her being a man's wife and the mother of *their* children—hers as much as his—entails, one's old-fashioned notions of affection, as well, I must confess, as of common sense, run the risk of receiving a severe shock. It seems rather hard on man that he should have to pay his wife for superintending the comfortable home which she has the greater opportunities of enjoying,

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from the fact that *she* need not usually, once married, spend her days in city offices in order to support her family. I was sorely tempted to approach that practical and mercenary lady, in order to glean from her a clearer view as to the tariff she thought of establishing, how much a night, for instance, would be deemed sufficient under the new *régime* for attendance on an overworked husband or a sick child, and the like; but I refrained, the Modern Woman being often chary of compassion towards the young and ignorant, sharp of tongue and withering of glance. We have, indeed, drifted far from the ideal woman of one time, far also from the exceptional women of to-day, whose step "seemed to pity the grass it pressed;" who was

> "a ruling grace
> Which to the flowers, did they waken or dream,
> Was as God is to the starry scheme."

We think of nothing but ruling nowadays, and "grace," a little of which would flavor the unpalatable facts and inexplicable truths which fill this world of ours, has evaporated. And this is, perhaps, the most serious grievance we can bring to bear against the Congress. It has shown us too glaringly that the woman of action, as a type, after having rapidly changed for the better, is beginning to deteriorate, that we are producing minds not one whit more valuable in calibre and texture than the minds of clever women of past generations, without a sufficient ballast of new acquirements to compensate for the old, lost charm.

The wonderful symbolist poet who wrote "Solomon's Song" saw them rise up before his eyes out of the deep future, the two imperfect women who have divided history between them, and the one perfect woman who will, I am sure, be evolved in time, even from the unlikely materials which are sometimes proposed for her formation. He saw her first—the woman who loses herself in the mists of early tradition, the crushed, annihilated child of sacrifice and prayer, and he painted her with one marvellous stroke of the pen, with one of those comprehensive sweeps, full of color, and landscape, and suggestion, which are the birthmark of Hebrew poetry: "Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense?" Like pillars of smoke! She was indeed nothing else: a disembodied streak of smoke, wreathing upwards from the burning sacrifice, perfumed, we are told, with myrrh and frankincense, those symbols all

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through Scripture of bitterness and death. The poet sings on, and his love-song, called so justly the "Song of Songs," ripples from his lips like a silver brook, coiling through the still and warm and luscious scenery of a dream. And suddenly there is a full-stop in his song, once more the vision of a figure mounting up from the far-off desert of the world: "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?" No longer a voiceless emanation of suffering, passing upwards without name or hope, only to leave a heap of perhaps fertilizing ashes behind. It is a thing of life, a woman. But, though fair, she is not perfect yet; the stigma of those who inspire fear is upon her; she is not intellect, she is not heart, she is not warm as the sun, but only clear; she is fair as the moon, and the moon is sterile; she is neither pain nor love, she is War.

And she is not defeated. The wise old poet of Israel has seen ahead of us, and in a last exquisite verse he paints for us the third woman, the one we have as yet known only in transient apparitions. I will quote the text of the Vulgate, which is fuller than the English version: "Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness, rich in joy, leaning upon her beloved?" Thus we have the four elements which go to the making up of a perfect woman—and that woman will be a spontaneous growth rather than the work of generalizing movements and of Congresses—the spirit of sacrifice, "perfumed with myrrh and frankincense;" and of war, "terrible as an army with banners;" the spirit of joy, "*deliciis affluens*," and of love, "leaning upon her beloved." The woman of to-day has proved herself prepared for too much war, too anxious to convince the world at large that she can fight, and that her fighting alone will be good for us all. It ought to be impressed upon her that however opportune she may be as the woman of to-day, it would be a pity if she were to survive as the woman of to-morrow; a pity if there were in feminine nature no richer possibilities than the power of strife. We are all imperfect to-day, because the fight for our moral existence has warped other things—we are the army prepared for battle, having too many banners—at times hard and cold as our own steel; imperfect, because we refuse to suffer for ourselves or our dear ones; imperfect, because the spirit of joy, which is the sense of beauty, and the comprehension of life are not fully ours; and imperfect, because we do not "lean on our

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beloved," to use the quaint Scripture simile; because we do not yet know how to love enough things that are outside of ourselves. The women who nowadays take up women's rights and air their opinions on platform and in pamphlet, are not generally those most fitted by intense personal suffering to sympathize with sufferers—in a word, to *help;* and this—not even the Women's International Congress can deny it—is the one thing for which man has no time and is unfit; therefore, the one thing which it is needful that women should do.

Again, woman taken in a broad way has not as yet a sufficient sense of the power of form or of the joy of beauty. Her ideas as to Art are vague, her innate taste is not individual; her judgments are rarely original; she perceives what she has been educated up to, but her perceptions of line and color, and rhythm either touch her emotions or her intellect, and seldom achieve that reaching of the one through the other, which means perfect comprehension. Women workers of to-day, unless artists of some description, generally enjoy good spirits if the world has been kind to them, but the deep conscious joy of the universe is not yet within their grasp; they are not *deliciis affluens.* But we are told that this terrible modern woman who is fighting so strenuously also "looketh out as the morning." Let us hope, even though it be a forlorn hope, that before the next International Congress symptoms of a change will appear, signs that hearts are beginning to throb quicker, side by side with the brains that strive; that women, at least, if not all mankind, will be struggling to reach the apex of our nature's perfectibility, absorbing good on all sides and radiating it towards others, instead of clamoring for more rights, which would find us unripe if we had them, or more duties, when those we have are not always over well performed. And those who would attain the end ought not to flinch from the means. If the conception of beauty is ever to be applied to character or to the feminine type of mind and heart, there ought to be no shrinking from the forces that can help us reach it. They are not exactly what women have been demanding lately, and they are sometimes crucial; but, widely speaking, they are the only two—more pain and more love.

KASSANDRA VIVARIA.

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THE PARAMOUNT POWER OF THE PACIFIC.

BY JOHN BARRETT, FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

THE most remarkable result of the late war with Spain is one we never anticipated: it has made the United States the paramount power of the Pacific. We unexpectedly assumed this responsibility on the first of May, 1898. When Admiral Dewey destroyed the fleet and sovereignty of Spain, he built up in one brief day the influence and prestige of the United States throughout all the Pacific Seas. He accomplished in a few hours what otherwise might not have been realized in a half century—or possibly never. To use a homely but expressive figure, he picked up American influence as if it were a peg stuck in a hole, and put it down tight in the first or leading position.

If I use earnest terms in this discussion of America's interests in the Far East—which I have written at the special request of the Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW—I would ask my critics and those who oppose our policy in the Pacific, to remember that we who labored faithfully and patiently during the long years preceding the late war to protect and advance America's material and political interests in Oriental nations, have possibly a keener appreciation of the mighty change wrought than they who viewed the situation from afar, and often with the large end of the glass nearest the eye. It is one thing to sit in an American sanctum, library, club, or Congressional committee room, and outline how American interests should be guarded and strengthened in Asiatic realms; and quite another, after setting out for these same countries, 7,000 to 10,000 miles away from Washington, and hastening to our posts with commissions in hand, not only to realize with profound chagrin that American influence decreased in direct proportion as the distance increased, but to be received

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on our arrival at these Eastern courts as the representatives of a nation holding an indefinite position somewhere down the line after Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, and even little Holland and Belgium—and not as the Ministers and Envoys of a first class world power!

But the effect of war was magical. Only those residing in the Orient could appreciate it. The first signs of this renaissance of American influence were seen when Dewey made Hong Kong the rendezvous of his squadron in March, 1898. Then the battle was fought. It was followed by a rising wave of American prestige that swept up and down the Coast like the rush of a tidal current, gradually returning to its natural strength, but leaving everywhere its distinct impression. After Manila fell, and the long, sad period of inactivity followed, there was a reaction. Doubt existed as to whether America would realize her splendid opportunity, not only in the Philippines but throughout the entire East. Then finally came the unfortunate delay in treaty confirmation—responsible in a degree for the present conflict and bloodshed. But when ratification triumphed, diplomatists and business men immediately began to reconsider their policies and lines of action, on the basis of America's becoming the paramount power of the Pacific.

When I contrasted the attention given to American interests, political and commercial, moral and social, in all the leading capitals of the Far East, from Java to Japan, during my last trip north, with what my colleagues and myself had repeatedly seen and experienced in former years, it made my heart glad, and I felt that such a result in a measure offset the difficulties involved in the occupation of the Philippines. But there is not only the sentimental side to this American movement; every branch of trade is feeling it; and American connections are being sought by merchants of all nationalities. And yet this is only the beginning.

PERSONAL STUDY OF SUBJECT.

Possibly I may be pardoned for making some reference to my personal study of the subject, in order that my humble observations may have more weight. Ever since I first went to the Far East, inspired with the belief that the western coast States of America must look to the Pacific for the development of permanent conditions of prosperity, I have been a devoted advocate of

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the American opportunity in the Pacific. For five years I have hammered away in reports to the Government, letters to Chambers of Commerce, and contributions to newspapers, magazines, and reviews, including particularly the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, with the hope of thus awakening our Government, as well as our manufacturers and exporters, to an appreciation of the splendid field awaiting their best efforts. After long continued discussion, much of it in vain, it is most gratifying to see some reciprocal interest manifested and my unpretentious prophecies coming true. But the pleasure and satisfaction are alloyed with the fear that, just as we are on the threshold of our greatest possibilities, the door of trade may be closed in our faces. Then we shall be helpless.

It has been my privilege to visit during my leaves of absence not only the interior of Siam, but to travel in Japan, Siberia, Korea, Manchuria, China, Formosa, Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Java, and the Philippines—all with the sole purpose of familiarizing myself with the commercial and political situation. My first journey was made in 1894, my last in 1899; so I trust that I am in comparative touch with the conditions described and discussed.

THE MORAL ISSUES INVOLVED.

There is not time or space in this paper to discuss the moral side of our position and policy in the Philippines or in China, but I would not underrate this phase of the question. Every man has his own opinion and system of reasoning in regard to America's responsibilities and rights of action. Possibly one man's views are as good as another's. In discussing, on the other hand, the material or commercial aspect of the situation, positive *data* and actual survey and study of the field are necessary to approach the truth. In leaving the moral issues to general consideration, I would submit only one specific statement of my doctrine. The United States have assumed a mighty and unavoidable responsibility, not only to themselves and the natives, but to the world, in occupying the Philippine Islands. They could not return them to their former sovereignty, sell them to another power, or yield them to absolute native rule, without shirking that responsibility, and taking a backward step from which the nation would never recover. In their attitude toward China, they should be charitable to that government's faults, lend a

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strong hand when possible, and avoid under all circumstances bulldozing and robbing tactics in efforts to obtain by force territory or ports which should only be occupied by legitimate agreement.

PHILIPPINE INTERESTS OVERSHADOW PERIL IN CHINA.

There is imminent danger that, in the attention we are giving the Philippine question, we will forget our growing interests in China. The latter are too important, in comparison with the former, to be overlooked. It can be logically argued that our commercial opportunities in China are far greater than they ever will be in the Philippines, under the most favorable conditions. Therefore, while we are setting matters right in our new possessions, we must not allow them to go wrong in China, where our old established treaties are being stretched—not by China herself, but by her neighbors. As we clean up a new room, we must not let strangers enter by the back way and raid the store-room. What will it profit us if we open the door of the Philippines, only to see that of China closed against us?

And yet I indulge in no exaggeration when I say there is a grave peril confronting our interests in the Middle Kingdom. I speak from long observation, supported by the private conclusions—if they could make them public—of our present Ministers and Consuls. I was compelled to keep silent myself until relieved of the responsibilities of my former position. What I now declare, however, is no indiscretion, because it is a simple statement of truth which does not in any way disclose the relations of the United States with other nations. It is most difficult, I admit, to name a specific act that is contrary to the treaties in their diplomatic interpretation, but those of us who have travelled through Manchuria and Shantung on the north, and Kwangsi and Yunnan on the south, have seen conditions and influences that are having the same moral effect as actual closure.

"OPEN DOOR" AND "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE."

There are certain terms employed in reference to China which are of sufficient importance to warrant brief special mention in consideration of the main subject. The "open door," as the phrase is commonly used, means nothing more than the maintenance without limitations of the treaty rights of trade throughout the empire, with all nations on an equal footing. It does not imply that there is no duty or tariff, but simply that all lands must pay

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the same duty or tariff as agreed upon in the original Tientsin treaties. "Spheres of influence," in their technical sense, mean sections of country where the nation exercising the influence contends that no other nation shall ever acquire sovereignty or secure privileged concessions; but, as far as China is concerned, it is a sugar-coated diplomatic phrase which is practically equal to "areas of absolute sovereignty," and that is the condition into which they will inevitably evolve unless some great change should be wrought in China's government in the very near future.

It is possible to have the "open door" and "spheres of influence" at one and the same time, and that is the policy which the United States must insist upon if the integrity of the empire is not preserved; otherwise, our great and growing markets will be entirely lost to us. While we should do everything in our power to prevent the disintegration of China, at the same time, in realization of the fact that we cannot go to war in support of such a policy, if we see that the break-up is inevitable, we must leave no stone unturned to preserve our old treaty rights in a new form with the powers in control. If this is accomplished, it may come to pass that our trade and commerce in the country that was once China will be greater than ever otherwise possible. I doubt, however, as do most authorities on China, if such a fortunate result would ever attend our efforts, but we must take every eventuality into consideration and be prepared for any turn whatsoever in the tide.

ALL SECTIONS INTERESTED.

The Far East, particularly China, affords markets which should arouse the interest of all sections of the United States, and make the country stand unanimously for a firm policy. The West and East and the North and South are equally concerned in maintaining the freedom of trade and preserving our treaty rights throughout China. Were it merely a sectional issue, there might be a grave question as to the advisability of taking a strong position as to the future of the empire. China and other Asiatic countries want all the flour and timber, and a goodly portion of other kinds of food and raw products, which California, Oregon, Washington and neighboring Western States can supply; they want the manufactured cotton and raw cotton of the South in increasing quantities, and the time may come when this Pacific-Asiatic demand will take up the surplus supply of the South's

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great staple; they want the manufactured cotton, iron, steel, and miscellaneous products of the North and East, together with unlimited quantities of petroleum; they want corresponding manufactured products of the central West, and there is no reason why there should not be developed among the Asiatic millions a demand for the central West's great staple, maize (or Indian meal), such as there has been created for flour. I draw no fancy picture, but simply express my honest opinion after five years' careful study of the field which I am discussing.

The question of protecting such markets appeals to capitalist and laboring man alike. It offers the former an opportunity for the investment of his capital, and it increases the employment and wages of the latter by providing a greater demand. The masses of our people, especially the laboring classes, are inclined to think that the Chinese question is one which should not concern them, and in the haziness of their views they may think that it has to do with Chinese labor, which, of course, looms up to them as a mighty danger, while in fact they are as much concerned as the manufacturer and exporter, and are to-day in many sections of the country and in numerous establishments absolutely dependent upon the Chinese market for their employment. The farmers of the West and South can unite with the laboring men of the North and East in supporting the shippers, manufacturers and exporters in developing a strong Asiatic policy. Were the door of China closed against us to-morrow, it would mean that labor and capital alike would suffer immeasurable harm. They should, therefore, see that it is never closed.

If I were asked to make my argument complete by showing what will be the principal specific demands of the Far East for American products, I should say that they would include flour and breadstuffs, cotton goods and raw cotton, kerosene oil, timber, manufactured iron and steel products, machinery and hardware, locomotives, cars, rails, sewing machines, clocks and watches, telephone and telegraph apparatus, electric railways, electric lights, electric supplies, canned goods, wines, spirits and liquors, chemicals and medicines, tobacco, leather and paper, with an endless variety of manufactured articles commonly known as "muck and truck."

LAND OF GREAT POTENTIALITIES.

China is a nation of incalculable possibilities. The more one

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studies her, travels in the interior, or investigates her resources, the more one is convinced that she has only begun her material advancement. Whenever I have been up the Yangtse river, travelled overland, or visited the coast ports or interior towns, I have been impressed more and more with the future before her, if she shall ever be well governed and not divided up among foreign nations.

If I seem to employ strong terms in describing the opportunities in China and the Far East, I beg to remind my readers that the leading American, British and German engineers and explorers who have travelled thoroughly over these countries support my contentions. China possesses unlimited quantities of coal and iron, which are already located; and there are numerous indications of gold and silver and other precious metals. There is no valid reason why China should not be covered with a network of railways. She has the population and the products to support them. It is often contended that China can never be such a great commercial nation as has been predicted by many authorities, because she has not the buying capacity. There is no better way to develop such capacity than by opening up the interior. Money will then flow in from the outside to purchase raw supplies, and will provide the people with means to buy the manufactured products of other nations.

Manchuria affords one of the best object lessons of American opportunity. The growth of the demand there for certain classes of American cotton goods has been phenomenal. It was not many years ago that the market was very limited. There are even on record reports of consuls and of special agents of cotton firms, which said that there was no field for the expansion of American trade. To-day the marvel of business interests in northern China is the development of the market for American cotton goods in Manchuria. When I first visited New-Chwang, the gateway to Manchuria, American imports were not over 15 per cent. of the total; on my last visit they were more than 50 per cent., with the proportion increasing every day! Notwithstanding this marked growth, only a small proportion of Manchuria's millions has been reached. If the great northern provinces of China now require $7,000,000 worth of our cottons, there is no valid reason why they should not in ten years from now consume $20,000,000 worth. A few years ago, $3,000,000 represented the value of the trade. When we consider that the cotton mills of New England and the

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South are supplying this demand in Manchuria, and that they have even been kept running when other mills have been closed, there is every reason why those two sections should join together in insisting that the open door shall always apply to Manchuria.

American exports to the Far East to-day approximate $40,000,000, if the actual value of everything which leaves our shores is counted; but, basing our estimates on reasonable grounds, there is no reason why they should not expand in the near future to $150,000,000, and our total exchange reach $300,000,000. Few people appreciate the enormous business that is now done up and down the Pacific Asiatic coast. It amounts to $1,000,000,000, gold, *per annum,* and represents 500,000,000 people. Of this, the imports are over half. Certainly it is logical to hold that the United States should be able to supply at least a third of the products now imported from foreign lands. China's trade amounts to $250,000,000 with a population of 350,000,000 people. If her wants ever expand in any such degree as those of Japan and other countries which have awakened from their Asiatic lethargy, her foreign trade should reach, on a conservative estimate, $500,000,000. Were the same ratio of population to trade, or one to two, which exists in all other countries of Asia, progressive and retrogressive, applied to China, her future foreign exchange could be estimated at $700,000,000. I do not mean that it can or will attain these figures within this generation, but it is a logical possibility, provided always that the government is reformed and the door of trade is not closed.

As a marked illustration of the difficulty of forecasting the limit of American exports to China, I would call special attention to the flour trade. Some of our consuls and trade experts declared, but a few years ago, that wheat flour would never be accepted in large quantities by the Chinese. It was contended that they did not want it, did not need it, and could not be induced to take it. The exporters of California and Oregon were even advised to spend no more money in an effort to build up a market. And yet the development of the flour trade is even more marvellous than that of cotton. The shipments, for instance, from Portland, Oregon, to Hong Kong have increased 1,600 per cent. in the last ten years, and, taken with those of San Francisco and the Puget Sound ports, aggregate many millions of dollars *per annum!* Considering what a small portion of China's millions has commenced

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to use flour, it is difficult to place any reasonable limit on the future demand.

PHILIPPINE RESOURCES AND CLIMATE.

In this article I am giving little or no attention to the vital interest which we have in the Philippines, because that is worthy of a separate discussion, and has already been exhaustively treated by others. I wish, however, to go on record as saying that, from extended travels through the Islands before the war, and from visits to them later in time of war and American control, I am convinced that they hold out not only great opportunities for commerce and trade, but for legitimate investment and exploitation. It is my opinion, supported not only by Americans but by Britons who have travelled through the interior, that there is no richer undeveloped portion of Asia than the Philippine group. The foreign commerce of the Islands, which now amounts to over $30,000,000, should be trebled within the next decade, and there is room for railway construction alone that would involve the expenditure of $150,000,000, in portions of the Islands having a large population and extensive products. Comparing Luzon with Nippon, the principal island of Japan, the interiors of both of which I have visited, I would say that, aside from area and population, the comparison is altogether in favor of Luzon.

As for the climate, the Philippines are no worse than other tropical lands, and Manila can compare favorably with Hong Kong, Bangkok, Singapore and Batavia, where European officials and business men, with their families and employees, live in fair health, comfort and happiness. I personally suffered more during the recent hot wave in New York and Chicago than I ever did from heat of the tropics in four years' stay in Bangkok. More people die of *grippe* in New York in one year than of fever, cholera and plague in Manila in ten years.

Our problems of government and establishment of law and order we will successfully solve if our people will be patient and with confidence await the issue. The end of the next dry season should see the end of the present insurrection.

JAPAN'S NEW RESPONSIBILITIES.

Another important consideration which directly affects America's interests in the Far East is also being hidden by the general discussion of the Philippine situation. On July 16th, Americans and American interests in Japan passed out from under the juris-

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diction of our consuls and went under that of Japan. In other words, the old treaties which have been in force ever since the time of Commodore Perry, who, like Admiral Dewey, brought us new prominence and influence in the Orient, became null and void on that day, and the new ones, which give Japan the rights of all other powers over foreigners residing or visiting within their limits, came into force. This is a grave experiment, and all foreigners in Japan are greatly concerned as to the effect upon their interests of such a radical change. When I visited Japan recently, I found the question of the application of the new treaties the all absorbing topic of discussion and argument. While there is great difference of opinion as to that country's ability to successfully administer jurisdiction over the subjects of other nations, the leading Japanese statesmen, such as Count Ito, Count Okuma, Marshal Yamagata and Viscount Aoki, hold that Japan will faithfully meet her new responsibilities, and prove to the world her ability to rank with other nations as a first-class power in every respect.

The United States, in watching the situation and seeing that our interests do not suffer under the new system, can at the same time show such consideration and co-operation as to win Japan's gratitude and merit her support in the policies which together they may see fit to promote in the Pacific and Far East. We cannot afford to overlook serious defects in Japanese jurisdiction, but we can be reasonably charitable during the first year of its application. It should be given at least a fair test. If it fails, the treaty provides for a remedy. Our material interests in Japan are great, and they are growing. We have no reason yet to believe they will suffer under the new jurisdiction.

OTHER UNDEVELOPED FIELDS.

The resources, possibilities, and opportunities of Indo-China, the Straits Settlements, Java, and Borneo, on the south, of Formosa in the central section, and of Korea and Siberia on the north, aside from Japan, Siam and the Philippines, elsewhere briefly discussed, are sufficient each in itself to be the subject of an article, and therefore I can only touch upon them in passing. In visiting all of these countries, I was impressed with their marvellous capabilities of development, as have been the men who have lived in them for years, and who are investing their capital without limit. In consideration of what there is for America in all

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of these countries, we must remember that up to the present time we have made practically no effort whatever to enter into their respective fields.

It is only fitting that I should say a few words about the rich little kingdom of south-eastern Asia, where I had the honor to represent the United States Government for four years. Although Siam is one of the least known nations of the world, it is one of the most interesting and progressive countries of all Asia. It ranks, in its efforts to advance, next to Japan, and is ruled by a King who stands out prominently as one of the ablest statesmen of Asia. There is probably no land in the world of similar population and area which can compare favorably with it in natural wealth, resources, and opportunities, with the possible exception of the Philippines. With about 8,000,000 inhabitants and a foreign commerce of $40,000,000, it stands to-day on the threshold of great material and political development. With an area about equal to that of the State of Texas, it has a vast extent of fertile valleys and wooded uplands, which, together with rich deposits of tin, coal and gold, invite the investment of capital and the consequent development of resources barely yet appreciated throughout the world. The best rice that is grown in Asia comes from Siam, and it is the granary which supplies a large part of the Japanese and Chinese market, aside from sending a considerable quantity to North and South America and Europe. Its teakwood is of the finest quality grown, and is used in the construction of the navies of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia and America. Bangkok, its capital, while great and dirty, like most Oriental cities, is one of the most prosperous ports on the Asiatic coast. With a population of half a million, it is rapidly advancing to the one million mark.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL AND PACIFIC CABLE.

In answer to the question: "What is it necessary for us to do to advance our interests in the Pacific and Far East?" aside from the great main points of holding the Philippines and standing firmly for the open door in China, I would say that the most important step to be taken, in order to clinch our hold as the first power of the Pacific, is the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal. Every year's delay in carrying out this great enterprise will cost us ten times as many millions of dollars in trade as would its immediate digging. Placing the cost of this waterway at its

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ultimate limit of $150,000,000, it can be safely stated that, once open, it would add that amount to our foreign trade in the Pacific Seas within ten years after the first ship passed through it. It will change the great trade routes of the world, and will do more than anything else yet unaccomplished to make the United States supreme in both the Atlantic and Pacific. Already, the foreign merchants of the Asiatic coast are making their plans with reference to the effect upon trade of the opening of this route. We do not want the Panama Canal, and we must not allow the construction of the Nicaragua Canal to be delayed by any false hopes and theories that the Panama can be purchased and finished more cheaply. There is no doubt that the nations of Europe recognize that the completion of the Nicaragua Canal would be the greatest influence in making us politically and commercially the first power of the world, and we must watch against their efforts to retard its construction.

The second important point is the laying of a cable across the Pacific Ocean, from some central Pacific Coast point, like San Francisco, Portland, or Puget Sound, to Hawaii and thence to the Philippines, Japan and China, with possibly a branch to Australia. The tremendous monopoly of the present telegraphic connection between the Far East and America is a great handicap to the development of trade with the United States. I have repeatedly heard merchants of all nations in Asiatic ports say that the cost, time, and difficulties of cable communication with the United States, *via* Europe, worked against the extension of American commerce. With a cable across the Pacific touching these important points, and with reasonable charges, the effect on the advancement of America's interests would be at once felt. It is to be hoped that the United States Government will lend its assistance to any company which makes a legitimate proposition for the carrying out of this great enterprise.

The third great necessity is the immediate improvement of the passenger, freight and mail steamship service of the Pacific. Vessels equal to those crossing the Atlantic should be placed on this route, and as many as possible should fly the American flag. At the present moment, the freight facilities are not equal to the demands made upon them, while the time required for passengers and mails going from San Francisco and other important points is from three to six days too long. We cannot expect, however, that

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the steamship companies will make the improvements needed unless the Government is willing to give them the necessary subsidies. At the same time, American lines and the Government must bear in mind the competition of the great European steamship companies, which have already placed steamers on the Trans-Pacific route, or are planning to do so. Trade will welcome their coming, but the Government should make it possible for strictly American lines to compete successfully with them.

Fourth, the Government should bear in mind, in its appointment of Ministers and Consuls to Asiatic capitals and ports, that only men suited to the peculiar Asiatic conditions and demands, both political and commercial, should be sent there, and when once good men have made a record for themselves they should be kept in their places. I make this observation with no personal reference to myself, and would say that I have the highest opinion not only of my successor, but of his colleagues, and I hope that they will be long kept in their present positions. In this connection, it would be most fortunate if special commercial *attachés* could be sent to our principal Legations and Consulates-General in the Far East, to devote their entire time and energies to studying the trade opportunities. Now our Ministers and Consuls are kept continually busy attending to the routine work of their offices.

Fifth, there should be established at such main points as Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore, American banks to handle the exchange with the United States. At present there is not a single American banking institution from one end of the coast to the other.

Sixth, American firms should make a practice of sending only the very best men to represent them in the Far East. They should be men of tact and diplomacy, as well as energy.

Further points that might be mentioned would be the establishment of a permanent first-class exhibit of American products at some such place as Shanghai and branches of the American Asiatic Association at all important points on the coast to guard and help American interests; and, possibly as important as anything else, our manufacturers and exporters should bear in mind that they must find out what the Orient wants and make it, and not confine themselves to making what the Orient does not want and will not take. Other minor considerations might be named, but those I have enumerated cover the general situation.

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AMERICA MAY DECIDE THE FUTURE OF CHINA.

In a recent address before the New York Chamber of Commerce, I made the statement that America is now the arbiter of China's future. As this opinion has created considerable discussion in the press throughout the country, I will briefly give my reasons for making so sweeping a declaration. Such a responsibility is not the direct result of our presence in the Philippines; it is rather the outcome of recent events in China which have placed the United States in a unique position. When England, a few weeks ago, made her agreement with Russia which delimits, respectively, Russian and British spheres of influence, the United States became the only power which has not directly or indirectly, formally or informally, recognized in any shape or form such fields of particular operation, or, more truthfully, areas of eventual sovereignty. Russia, France, Germany, and even Austria and Italy, have all taken steps which could be construed as leading to the division of the Chinese Empire. Even Japan would take her share, were she permitted by Russia and Germany.

If, then, the United States should by diplomatic note, agreement, or overt act, show their acquiescence in the tendency to separate China into spheres of influence, there would be no other nation between China and her partition, and it is altogether probable that the other great powers would take advantage of our attitude to convert their respective spheres into actual territories of absolute control. China, therefore, sees in the United States her only salvation, and, were we now to look behind the veil not only of the Tsung-li-Yamen at Peking, but of the foreign offices of London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg, we would undoubtedly find the deepest interest as to what policy the United States will pursue, when they come face to face, as they must soon do, with the necessity of taking a direct stand on this point. We have much to lose and nothing to gain by the break-up of China, unless we have absolute assurances from all the powers concerned that our rights of trade will be in no way limited, and that there will be no adoption of discriminating duties or differential rates.

OUR POLICY SUMMARIZED.

A reasonable and logical conclusion as to our present policy in China could be summarized as follows. First, we should stand firmly and persistently for the integrity of the Chinese empire, and use our influence for the inauguration of reforms of govern-

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ment; second, we should insist on the "open door" and absolute freedom of trade, in accordance with the stipulations of the old Tientsin treaties, from Canton to New-Chwang; third, we should direct our political and moral influence against the delimitation of alleged "spheres of influence," or actual "areas of operation," and withhold formal recognition thereof until, or unless, fourth, seeing the inevitable development of such spheres and the consequent break-up of the empire—without willingness to resort to war—we should demand and insist upon the open door and freedom of trade *with* and *in* these areas of *quasi* sovereignty; fifth, we should consider the advisability of securing a port in northern China, but only in the event of the break-up of the empire, or by legitimate purchase and treaty; and sixth, the United States as far as possible should work in harmony and on the same lines with other powers having similar commercial interests, to protect them from further limitation.

While attempting to outline a policy which, it would seem, the protection and advancement of our interests demand, I recognize the limitations which surround the Government at Washington, and its inability to take actual steps where there is not direct or tangible cause or provocation within the scope of the treaties. Moreover, there remains the necessity of awakening public sentiment to an appreciation of the situation in the Far East, which must precede popular support of the Government along lines somewhat radical and far reaching. If what I write or say may assist, even in a slight degree, in arousing not only our manufacturers and exporters but the people and, finally, their representatives at Washington who largely shape our foreign policy, to a correct understanding, first, of the extent of our interests, and, second, of the need of protecting them before it is too late, I shall feel that I have had abundant reward not only for my long stay in the Orient, but for my humble and sincere efforts there and here to faithfully describe what any student of Pacific and Far Eastern developments, with an eye to his country's good, could not fail to note.

JOHN BARRETT.

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFLICT IN FINLAND.

BY A MEMBER OF THE FINNISH DIET.

DURING the last three months the "*coup d'état* in Finland" has formed a standing topic in practically the whole of the European press and in part of the American press. The people of Finland have not, hitherto, made much noise in the world, and, therefore, they have been comparatively little known in Europe and still less in other parts of the earth. Yet, the Finns are not altogether unknown in America, where the large majority of emigrants from Finland seek a livelihood or a new home.

Thus far, however, is the status of Finland known in all educated circles, that the country, which, up till 1809, formed a Swedish province, was then incorporated *with* Russia after a war in which Sweden was unsuccessful. Further, it is known that Finland was not incorporated *in* Russia, but that, at the Landtdag in Borga, to which the legal representatives of the country were called by the Czar, Alexander I., the country was assured of its right of retaining its ancient Constitutional Laws, which were identical with, and had formed part of, the old Swedish Constitution, with its free exercise of religion and all the other privileges enjoyed by every Swedish citizen. Alexander I. thus created out of Finland, the ancient Swedish province, a constitutional monarchical state, incorporated *with* Russia under its sovereignty.

The Russian autocracy was not extended to Finland, where, on the contrary, the power of the monarch, according to the constitution, the *Regerings Form* of 1772 and *Förenings* and *Säkerhets* Act of 1789, is limited by the right of the estates to take part in legislation and taxation. As regards the so-called economical, or administrative, legislation, the monarch has this to himself alone, although, in this department too, his powers are somewhat circumscribed. In order to rightly understand the nature of the con-

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stitution of Finland, it may not be out of place to point to the section of the *Regerings Form* (Form of Government) which provides that the monarch may not make any new law nor unmake any old law without the knowledge and consent of the estates. It is further stipulated, in the *Förenings* and *Säkerhets* Act, that "whereas real liberty is only consistent with the free giving unto the country of whatever may be required for its maintenance, therefore the Finnish people have the incontestable right to deliberate, adjust, refuse and agree with the monarch about these things." And it is on this enactment that the right of legislation and taxation of the Finnish Landtdag is principally founded.

As regards the social status of Finland after 1809, this was arranged in accordance with the Swedish ideas which previously prevailed. A "Government Council," subsequently named the "Imperial Senate for Finland," was established to replace the authorities in the Swedish capital, provided for by the Constitutional Laws. The Senate consists of two departments, of which one has in its hands the management of civil affairs in general, while the other is the Supreme Court of the country. The Governor-General acts as president of the Senate, and he to a certain extent represents the person of the Czar and is the commander of the troops garrisoned in the country. The members of the Senate must be Finnish men, and the same stipulation applies to all functionaries and officials in the whole country.

During the long period betweeu 1809 and 1863, the Landtdag was not called together, although the question had been mooted several times. It was the monarch's prerogative to decide the time for the calling in of the estates. Alexander II., the reviver of the constitutional rights of the state, summoned the estates in the year 1863 and ratified, in 1869, a new "*Landtdags Ordning*" for Finland. This mode of Government ordains that the Landtdag, or Parliament, shall meet at least every fifth year, in the capital of the country. Up till the present time, the Landtdag has, indeed, regularly met. Since 1883, this has taken place every third year.

The comparatively modest forms in which the constitutional life of Finland has been invested, have by no means been detrimental to a rapid and general development of the country's natural economical resources. Far from it. The lift given by the regular meetings of the National Assembly to the national life in

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Finland in all its aspects must be described as simply astonishing. If anywhere, certain it is that in Finland you have had an opportunity of observing how a country, where legislation is adjusted to the characteristics of the people, their ideas and their wants, and where the management of administration, finances and the national defence are in the hands of the people themselves, will make progress, however disadvantageous may be the exterior relations under which it has to labor. True, it is required of such a people to have a warm patriotism, a persistency of purpose and a strong substratum of moral power; but scarcely anywhere have free institutions in a more glorious manner exhibited their true value than in Finland, situated north of the sixty-first degree of latitude.

Finland, although covered by lakes, marshes and forests, and exposed to a hard climate, exhibits a richly cultured life, with industry and agriculture in an advanced state of development, and an education that is both high and general. Untouched by the corruption of Russian officialism and the arbitrary changes in Russian legislation, Finland has hitherto been able to develop itself independently on national ground. Thus it has come about that this country has become a bearer of western culture even north of the polar circle, and thereby has deserved the attention and respect of the whole civilized world. The country, thanks to its Scandinavian culture, the loyalty of its inhabitants, and the faithfulness of farsighted sovereigns to their word, has been able not only to preserve, but even to further develop, its home autonomy. With an inflexible love did the Finnish people adhere to their sovereign dynasty, which, again, made it a matter of honor to inviolably stand by the assurance to Finland given by Alexander I. Even Nicolas I., who certainly was anything but a friend of a constitutional mode of government, did not allow his Russian ministers to mix themselves up in the affairs of the country. "Finland governs itself"—such was his reply to any attempt at such interference.

But Finland's position in the Russian realm, however advantageous it may have appeared, was threatened by serious dangers. The greatest lay in the disparity in power between the Grand Duchy, with its two and one-half million inhabitants, and the Empire with its one hundred and thirty millions. The Russian national feeling, led in Chauvinistic direction, would scarcely

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reconcile itself with the flourishing state of a constitutional country, where nothing was Russian, while the despotically governed Russia itself, sucked out by a rapacious bureaucracy and oppressed by an insensate system of taxation, sank deeper and deeper in poverty and ignorance. The question then became important, whether the common monarch was possessed of sufficient power of character and authority to be able, in the long run, to oppose the shouts of the Panslavistic press urging the incorporation of Finland in the Empire by the destruction of its independence as a State and nation.

Alexander III., who himself was not unaffected by the ultra Panslavistic idea, had caused a programme for Finland to be drawn up, implying community in postal and monetary customs and military matters between the Empire and the Grand Duchy. Of this programme only the first point was brought into effect. The administration of the Finnish postal affairs was put into the hands of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs. This was a violation of the Finnish Constitution. But here stopped the community reforms during the reign of Alexander III.

When his son and successor, Nicolas II., at the age of a little more than twenty, ascended the throne, hopes were cherished, both in Russia and in Finland, of a period of freer development. But soon, alas, it was to be proved that those hopes had been vain. A pupil of the procurator in the Holy Synod, Pobjedonostjeff, the reaction incarnate, and feeble of character, the young monarch was soon to become a plaything of his reactionary surroundings. It had been made clear to him that his duties toward Russia included the realization of his father's will, the preservation of autocracy and the assimilation of the foreign nationalities in the realm with the Russian. Those around him understood how to keep the Czar unaware of the fact that behind the phrase, "one Russia with one faith, one autocrat and one tongue," was concealed the egotism and covetousness of power of a corrupt officialdom. Their aim was to divert his attention from the destitution, lawlessness and the crying abuses prevailing in the interior, and fix it instead on matters outside of Russia itself. When the foreign policy no longer offered any sufficient grounds for so doing, Finland was singled out as a proper object of attention—Finland, whose free constitution could not possibly remain consistent with the interests, dignity and glory of the Czardom.

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The first object of aggression against Finland's autonomy was its independent military system. Finland possessed from 1809 a national army, the so-called *Indelningsverket,* or soldier farmer system, as it had been inherited from the times of Swedish rule, in virtue of which system every owner of landed property in each territorial sub-division keeps a soldier of either infantry or cavalry. In the year 1878, the estates adopted a Compulsory Service Act for Finland. In virtue of this, every Finnish citizen is liable to conscription for the defence of throne and Fatherland. The age of conscription is 21 years, and the lot decides which are to enter active service; the remainder are transferred to the reserve forces. The shortest term of service in the active army, which amounts to 5,600 men, is three years, which time, however, can be shortened for those having a higher degree of education. Those transferred to the reserve forces are subjected to ninety days' drill. The Finnish troops have their stations within the country and are commanded by Finnish officers. The Russian Minister of War reports upon and submits to the Czar such purely military questions as have reference to the Finnish troops. All other matters are submitted by the "Minister of State for Finland." Up till the present time, Finland has paid annually in military expenses about nine million marks. It may, besides, be mentioned that, according to the Compulsory Service Act for Finland, its more important decrees are of the nature of Constitutional Law. They must, therefore, not be altered or annulled without the consent of all four estates at the Landtdag.

II.

The foregoing explanation has been necessary to make the situation clear to the reader. With complete surprise was the news received in Finland, in the summer of last year, of the summoning of an extraordinary session of the Landtdag for the enactment of a reform of the Finnish Compulsory Service Act. It was the Russian Minister of War, Kuropatkin—a man actively antagonistic to Finland—who desired such a hurried treatment of the matter. He had succeeded in gaining the ear of the Czar and had thus induced him to sign the Decree calling the Landtdag to meet in 1899, in spite of the fact that the ordinary Landtdag was timed to meet in the year 1900.

In virtue of Finland's constitution, all Finnish affairs, which

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are to be considered by the Landtdag, must have previously been prepared by Finnish authorities, the highest being the Senate for Finland. All business pertaining to this question of conscription reform, however, had been prepared by the Council at St. Petersburg, in which the number of the Finnish members was infinitely small, as compared with the number of Russians. No heed whatever was paid to their objections. The proposals which were presented to the Landtdag, after even the Senate's propositions had been disallowed, contain what is practically a literal copy of the Russian Conscription Act. The Finnish conscription would, according to these, be extended to the defence of the Czardom, as the holy duty of every Russian subject. The term of service was to be five years in the active and thirteen in the reserve forces. Russian officers were to enter the Finnish troops. The military matters of Finland were, in the future, to be managed exclusively by the Russian Government and Russian authorities. Finally, it was hinted that part of the Finnish conscriptive youth was to be passed into the Russian troops stationed in Finland or on its borders.

What most hurt the Finnish national feeling was, however, the contents of the minutes of the committee, which, as appendices, were brought along with the proposals of conscription and had been prepared by Russian staff officers. The tone of these documents was similar to the polemical aggressiveness of the worst Russian Slavophile papers. Their right to have a Fatherland of their own; to remain separate, free Finnish citizens; to preserve their separate constitution and an independent national development,—these rights were completely refused to the Finns. There is no longer any mention of the Grand Duchy of Finland, but only of the Finnish Lœns, or districts. By a lying representation, showing, moreover, as much frivolousness as ignorance, it is sought to put a wrong construction upon confirmation of Finland's political laws granted by Alexander I. It is, finally, unmistakably intimated that these reforms in Finland's military system are desired because the fidelity of the Finnish people toward monarch and realm are suspected.

When the Landtdag met, in the end of January, the position of the country was darker than ever. The estates had to consider under the pressure of a powerful opinion in the Empire, a law by which it was intended to affect a complete assimilation of the

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Finnish and Russian army systems. The confidence of the monarch in his country had been disturbed, and, as Governor General, Adjutant General Bobrikoff had been entrusted with the supreme direction of affairs in Finland, with the additional mandate of carrying out the amalgamation programme. General Bobrikoff, who, being a *parvenu*, owes his career to Grand Duke Wladimir's favor, besides his own working abilities, was the man who was to lend himself as a tool for the Russification of Finland. Long had they been looking about for somebody who, after Count Heyden's demission, would be willing to be made use of for so contemptible a task. When Bobrikoff, at last, was chosen—the man had already won his laurels in the very same sort of business in the Baltic provinces—the Grand Duke is said to have exclaimed: "He will do it!" To what extent Bobrikoff will succeed in carrying out the programme entrusted to him, the future will show. In Finland, he has made himself thoroughly hated, by the mendacity and brutality of his character, by his press persecutions, and particularly by the part he took in the issue of the manifesto of February concerning the new rules of legislation. That he has found there land and people essentially different to what he had thought, and that he has by this time found out that his mission is more difficult than he had imagined, of this there is not the slightest doubt.

The estates of Finland had scarcely had time to commence their labors, when they were surprised in February by the Imperial Manifesto and Fundamental Decrees concerning the preparation, examination and promulgation of laws issued in respect of the Empire, including the Grand Duchy of Finland. Bobrikoff's part in the issue of this document, by which he, according to his own saying, would "bind the Finnish dogs," has been already alluded to. A worse blow has not fallen on Finland since it became united with Russia ninety years ago. For by it Finland's constitution was cut to pieces, and the Russian Autocracy was extended out over Finland's soil as well.

According to Finland's constitution, confirmed by all its monarchs, no other business of the Grand Duchy than matters of foreign politics can be excluded from its control. Now, however, the monarch has issued a law, by which he has reserved unto himself the right to declare as a matter of common interest to the realm whatever question he may choose. After he has decided this, the estates and Senate of Finland are heard, upon which the question

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is passed on to the Russian Council of the Empire, and is finally decided upon by the Emperor himself. Thus, the Emperor can now declare questions—belonging even to the sphere of civil and criminal legislation, the law on conscription, and so forth—to be imperial business. They are then resolved by him personally, and the Finnish Landtdag has been converted from a legislative into a merely advisory assembly. True, matters pertaining to "the local administration," as it is called, will continue to be handed over to the decision of the estates. But the question as to what these matters are is no longer dependent upon the Constitution, but upon the imperial fancy.

Instead of using the co-operation of the Landtdag in passing a law determining the matters which might partake of the nature of imperial affairs, the advisers of the Emperor have persuaded him that he has committed no breach of the Constitution by using his autocratic power in issuing the decrees in question. And Nicolas II. has been weak enough to let himself be induced to violate Finland's Constitution, and to open up a constitutional conflict with a people who for ninety years faithfully stood on the side of Russia and never gave its monarchs any occasion for trouble whatsoever.

The effect of the imperial manifesto upon the population of Finland was crushing. There was, however, a hope that the Senate might not promulgate it in the Official Gazette, but submit to the Emperor a representation of the illegality in the creation of that document. The members of the Landtdag and private citizens had communicated their opinion to that effect to the members of the Senate. But, alas, the Senate yielded at the last critical moment under the pressure of Bobrikoff's menaces. With ten votes against ten, the president's vote being decisive, the Senate resolved to promulgate the manifesto, and only thereafter present to the Emperor a memorial on its illegality. The minds of the whole nation were filled with resentment and grief. The Landtdag endorsed a report of its legal committee to the effect that the manifesto, having been illegally created, could not be sanctioned by law in Finland. Moreover, the estates instructed the Landtmarshall and their three other presidents to go to St. Petersburg in order to personally express to the Emperor the opinion that the manifesto was illegal and to solicit its retraction. On Bobrikoff's instigation, the presidents of the four estates

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were refused an audience, and the same fate befell a deputation from the Senate who had brought a memorial of protest to the Emperor. But the memorial, which was a sharp one and excellently written, was subsequently read to the Emperor by the State Secretary for Finland and is said to have made a deep impression upon the Czar. He said that it had never been his intention to violate the affirmation which he made on his accession. Was this merely talk, or is it possible that Nicolas II. had been really so misguided that he was unable to judge what his action really meant?

However, a last remedy would yet have to be tried. Citizens of the capital sent an appeal to the country, and, within ten days, more than five hundred thousand signatures were obtained under an address to the Emperor in which the people demanded the retraction of the manifesto. The fifth part of the whole population of the country had during this short time hastened to give vent to an expression of opinion, an occurrence which certainly may be called unique in the history of the world. The address was taken to St. Petersburg by a deputation of five hundred peasants and gentlemen. Nor were these received by the Emperor, who, however, declared that he was not wroth with the deputation. They were requested to submit the address through the Governor General.

The reverses that had thus been met with by the Finnish people in their attempts to regain their rights, could but naturally depress and embitter their minds. All ladies in the country are now wearing mourning dresses. As another mode of demonstration, magnificent floral homages have been paid to the monument of Alexander II., the reviver of Finland's constitutional liberties.

Meanwhile, the session of the Landtdag has been uninterruptedly going on. In the beginning of May, the estates received two more propositions from St. Petersburg. One of these contained the proposal that out of the Finnish yearly contingent of 7,200 conscripts only about 2,000 were to remain in the service of the country, while the remainder were to serve in Russia. In the other, it was proposed that ten million marks shall every year be transferred from the treasury of Finland to that of Russia for military purposes.

To none of these proposals would the Landtdag consent. The transfer of Finnish conscripts to Russian troops would be a fatal

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blow to Finland, since such a measure would effect a wholesale emigration of its strongest inhabitants. Impossible, likewise would it be for Finland to pay annually, out of a budget of sixty million marks, twenty millions for military purposes. The country, poor in itself, would by so doing become destitute.

On the 30th of May, the Landtdag was brought to a close by a speech from the throne. In the memorials which have been prepared by its Law and Conscript Committee and endorsed unanimously by the estates, the Russian aggressions are strongly refuted, and the foundations of Finland's sworn rights are eloquently set forth. The Landtdag has only in certain parts remodelled the military law now in force, but in so doing it has also made such concessions as have been possible of realization. The Finnish troops will, according to this modified law, be transportable beyond the frontiers of Finland, whenever the defence of the realm so demands. Instead of 6,000 men, the Landtdag has consented to provide 12,000 active soldiers, besides which is proposed the abolishment of the reserve militia, to which forces Russia always has been averse. Otherwise everything will be essentially unchanged as in the Finnish Military law of 1878.

As to the troubles and desires of the country, the Landtmarshall and other presidents of the estates gave equally strong and eloquent expressions at the closing of the session. Will Nicolas II. listen to the voice of the Finnish people, or will he continue to give his ears to his Russian advisers? The latter is, unfortunately, to be apprehended. The constitutional conflict will then be continued. For the Finns are known not only for their patriotism and obedience to the law, but also to be one of the most persevering nations in the world. Their institutions and wealth may be destroyed, but Russianized the Finns will never be. Their nation forms an individuality of its own, having its distinct historical mission. To the world at large, this struggle between the Russian giant and little Finland, the extreme outpost of culture in the North, will be a spectacle of the greatest interest. On which side the sympathy of the world lies, of that Finland has already received the most eloquent testimonials.

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THE CASE AGAINST CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY W. A. PURRINGTON.

In the March number of the North American Review, it was essayed in the article, "Christian Science and its Legal Aspects," to state clearly, as far as that is possible, the teachings of Mrs. Eddy; using, in order to be scrupulously fair, her own words, and referring each citation to its page in her text book, "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures."

It was there said: "Publicity will destroy the cult far more quickly than legislation." In that belief it is proposed here, with equal fairness, by quotations from her books, "Miscellaneous Writings" and "Retrospection and Introspection," the latter being autobiographical in character, to show something of the life, pretensions, methods and literary output of this remarkable woman, leaving the reader to judge from her own words whether she is, as her partisans assert, learned, modest, truthful and generous, or, as her adversaries declare, ignorant, irreverent, boastful, and greedy. We assume that candid, intelligent persons, interested in her teachings and alleged marvellous cures, are willing to learn the truth and try the teacher upon her utterances in the forum of common sense. If Mrs. Eddy did nothing more than teach a philosophic or religious theory we should waste no time in academic discussion of it. But she teaches a practice that daily puts the lives of adults and, more horrible still, of little children at the mercy of persons ignorant both of medical and mental science.

Some of her quondam friends and disciples have published matter denouncing Mrs. Eddy and attributing her theories and her cure of a severe illness to a Mr. P. P. Quimby,* deceased, whom

*See two articles in the *Arena* for May, 1899, by Horatio W. Dresser and Josephine C. Richardson.

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she disparages as "an uneducated man." To our apprehension, a fair representation of the woman and her works will be more profitable than heated controversy or labored argument. We concede to her, for what it is worth, the discovery of Christian Science, and ask no more than that the reader, friendly or hostile, examine judicially these gleanings from her works and form his own conclusions.

It has been said that the best corrective of judgment is the sense of humor, the faculty of appreciating one's own absurdities. Mrs. Eddy and her disciples take themselves very seriously. But that Mrs. Eddy considers the rival system of Faith Cure ridiculous, appears from this merry jest of hers:

"When looking deeply into the effects of faith based on corporeal personality instead of the Divine Principle, the following colloquy is suggested:

" 'Have you ever tried the faith-cure?' asked a solemn looking stranger of a gentleman in the street-car. 'I have,' was the answer. 'Do you believe in it?' 'I do.' 'May I ask of what you were cured?' Certainly; I was cured of my faith.' "*

Thus, by example, she invites a display of her own drolleries.

Who, then, and what is Mrs. Mary Moss Baker Glover Patterson Eddy, who in 1866, threw light upon the Gospels for lack of which saints, sages and poets, stumbling in darkness through the ages, have failed to apprehend the Saviour's teaching; who has written a book the mere reading of which cures cancer; to whom churches are built wherein is read the Lord's Prayer expanded and improved by her interpolations?

One of her foremost apostles, Mr. Carol Norton, a young gentleman belonging to "The International Board of Lectureship of the Mother Church of Christian Science in Boston, Mass.," in a lecture copyrighted in 1898,† presumably with her approval, thus describes her—he uses the past tense, but the lady still lives as mortal mind understands the term:

"A quiet dignity and a divine perseverance were her conspicuous characteristics. *Her life motives were essentially unselfish, philanthropic and idealistic.* As a student she was penetrating, inquiring, progressive. Perhaps her strongest point was that she always worked in a direct line. *One of her most marked characteristics was that, if she had worked mentally in a wrong direction, she could turn about with intelligent ease.* . . . While from the human standpoint she inherited the *refinement that goes with culture of family and moral*

*"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 68.
†Printed in the *Troy Record*, February 28, 1899.

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rectitude, yet there was a marked degree of spiritual *grace, delicacy and elegance which comes not from human ancestry, neither from communion with nature. It was the exquisite coloring of the touch of the hands of divine Mind which opens the petals of thought,* as it does of the opening rose, and evolves a symmetry of disposition, temperament and poise *which is at once recognized as of Divine not human origin. . . . She spent no time in intellectual drifting. Intuition and logic she united in her mental processes of reasoning. . . . Adherence to the impersonal and scientific deductions of the philosophical teachings of Mary Baker Eddy represents nothing different from the loyalty of a mathematician to the unchanging rule of mathematics.*"

The italics are ours. If the description seems perfervid, it should be remembered that Mrs. Eddy calls herself and is called by her disciples "Mother,"* and Mr. Norton's words are little stronger than those addressed by *pius* Æneas to his dam, "*Haud tibi voltus mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat: O, dea certe!*"

Any reader of Mrs. Eddy's books will admit the ease with which she turns about; whether it be intelligent or consistent with logic and loyalty to unchanging rules is another matter.

An apostle worthy of the name should have a somewhat extraordinary childhood, and Mrs. Eddy writes:

"For some twelve months, when I was about eight years old, I repeatedly heard a voice calling me distinctly by name, three times in an ascending scale."

Her mother persistently ignored this occurrence, until one day a cousin, Mehitable Huntoon, also heard the voice. Then Mrs. Baker told Mary of little Samuel and bade her answer when next she heard the voice, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." The child obeyed; but the result was disappointing:

"When the call came again I did answer, in the words of Samuel, but never again to material senses was that mysterious call audibly repeated."†

Apparently the voice had nothing particular to say.

At the age of twelve, Mary was admitted to the Congregationalist Church, after much perturbation over the doctrine of unconditional election or predestination, due to very creditable unwill-

*Thus an alleged disciple writes: "Dear Mother: The most blessed of women! Oh, how I long to sit within range of your voice and hear the Truth that comes to you from on High! for none could speak such wondrous thoughts as have come from your pen, except it be 'the Spirit that speaketh in you.'" "Miscellaneous Writings," p. 415.

Mrs. Eddy constantly applies the title to herself, for example: "I, for one, would be pleased to have the Christian Science Board of Directors itemize a bill of this church's gifts to Mother." "Miscellaneous Writings," p. 131.

†Under the caption, "Voices not our own" ("Retrospection and Introspection," pp. 16-18).

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ingness to be saved if her brothers and sisters were to be damned. Her mental distress brought on fever, so the physician said; and her mother bade her seek God in prayer. Obedience this time brought an excellent result:

"A soft glow of ineffable joy came over me, the fever was gone, and I arose and dressed myself in a normal condition of health. Mother saw this and was glad. The physician marvelled; and the 'horrible decree' of Predestination—as John Calvin rightly called his own tenet—forever lost its power over me."*

Notwithstanding her refusal to accept Calvin's doctrine, the good pastor insisted that she had been "truly regenerated;" and she was received into the communion, of which she says:

"My connection with this religious body was retained *till I founded a church of my own, built on the basis of Christian Science, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.*"*

In telling of her Early Studies,† Mrs. Eddy accounts for her constant disregard of the once respected shade of Lindley Murray:

"My father was taught that my brain was too large for my body, and so kept me much out of school, but I gained book-knowledge with far less labor than is usually requisite. At ten years of age I was as familiar with Lindley Murray's Grammar as I was with the Westminster Catechism; and the latter I had to repeat every Sunday. My favorite studies were Natural Philosophy, Logic and Moral Science. To my brother Albert I was indebted for lessons in the ancient tongues, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. *My brother studied Hebrew during his college vacations. After my discovery of Christian Science, most of the knowledge I had gleaned from school books vanished like a dream.*"

This unfortunate effect of Mrs. Eddy's discovery, apparent on almost every page of her writings, accounts for her early defence of her system against the charge of Pantheism upon the assumption that "the word Pantheism was derived from the sylvan God Pan," and also for her confusion of Gnosticism with Agnosticism.‡ These errors of mortal mind are quite understandable when we consider that the teacher, if she ever knew anything of history, religion, or philosophy, had forgotten all that she had learned from books.

Miss Mary Moss Baker in 1843 married Col. George Washington Glover, of South Carolina,§ of whom she says:

"He was spared to me for only one brief year. He was in Wilming-

*"Theological Reminiscences," "Retrospection and Introspection," pp. 20-24.
†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 19.
‡May "*Arena*," p. 561.
§"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 24.

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ton, North Carolina, *when the yellow fever raged* in that city, and was suddenly attacked by this *insidious disease*, which in his case proved fatal."*

This admission that "insidious disease" exists and can rage must be a slip of the pen. We are all aware now that Disease and Death are only errors of mortal mind.

Upon Col. Glover's death, his widow returned to New England, where a child was born who, at the age of four years, was sent away and not seen by her again until, at the age of thirty-four, he visited her in Boston. Upon their separation she wrote the poem "Mother's Darling," of which she gives us only one verse:

"Thy smile through tears, as sunshine o'er the sea,
Awoke new beauty in the surge's roll!
Oh, life is dead, bereft of all, with thee,—
Star of my earthly hope, babe of my soul."†

Mrs. Mary Moss Baker Glover contracted second nuptials with a gentleman whose name does not appear in "Retrospection and Introspection," although the event is this referred to:

"My second marriage was very unfortunate, and from it I was compelled to ask for a bill of divorce, which was granted me in the city of Salem, Massachusetts. My dominant thought in marrying again was to get back my child. The disappointment which followed was terrible. His step-father was envious; and although George was a tender-hearted and manly boy, he hated him as much as I loved him." ‡

Adherence to Mr. Murray's forgotten rules might have made clearer who hated whom; and it is certainly unfortunate that anybody hated any one; for hate, we are taught, is, like fear, a cause or form of disease. It appears, however, from a letter of the lady who is now Mrs. Eddy, written on March 7, 1883, to the *Boston Post* and quoted by Mr. Dresser§ that this second consort was Dr. Patterson, "a distinguished dentist" who, while his wife was away from home, undergoing Mr. Quimby's treatment, eloped "with a married woman from one of the wealthiest families." The distinction of the doctor and the wealth of the erring lady might seem to have been mentioned as softening the blow, were it not that, in reality, there was no blow to soften, as transpires from these words of the apparently deserted wife:

"It is well to know, dear reader, that this bit of material history is

*"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 24.
†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 26.
‡"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 27.
§May "*Arena*," p. 545.

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but the record of dreams, *not of real existence*, and the dream has no place in Christian Science. It is as 'a tale that is told', and as 'the shadow when it declineth.' "*

Notwithstanding—perhaps, indeed on account of—this unreality of marriage, Mrs. Mary Moss Baker Glover-Patterson, thirty-four years after her first alliance, and when somewhere about sixty years of age, as nearly as we can compute, entered upon a third, of which she says under the caption, "A True Man:"†

"My last marriage was with Asa Gilbert Eddy, and was a blessed and spiritual union, solemnized at Lynn, Massachusetts, by the Rev. Samuel Barrett Stewart, in the year 1877. Dr. Eddy was the first student to publicly announce himself a Christian Scientist, and place these symbolic words on his office sign. He forsook all to follow in this line of light. He was the first organizer of a Christian Science Sunday-School, which he superintended. He also taught a special Bible-Class; and he lectured so ably on Scriptural topics that even ministers listened to him with mingled surprise and approbation. He was remarkably successful in Mind-healing, and untiring in his chosen work. In 1882 he passed away, with a smile of peace and love resting on his serene countenance."‡

To our natural instinct, this dealing with a lady's repeated dreams is distasteful. We lack sympathy with the common desire to pry into love affairs of the great. But when philosophers like Jean Jacques and Mrs. Eddy insist on taking us behind the veil, there is nothing for it but to drop our sandals and trot along. Indeed, unless we yielded our scruples in the present case, we should by excess of delicacy lose the "*nexus*" and be plunged into obscurity. This is Mrs. Eddy's avowed reason for relating these three "dreams" and shadows that declined:

"Mere historic incidents and personal events are frivolous and of no moment, unless they illustrate the ethics of Truth. To this end, but only to this end, such narrations may be admissible and advisable; but if spiritual conclusions are separated from their premises, the *nexus* is

*"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 27.
†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 54.
‡It is said in the May *Arena* (p. 563): "The physician who conducted the autopsy says that the death was the result of distinctly developed heart disease; but Mrs. Eddy declared that it was the result of *arsenical poisoning mentally administered*"! However that may be, it is true that Christian Science did not save Mr. Eddy, although, if we may believe these words of his wife, it would have saved her. "When the mental malpractice of poisoning people was first undertaken by a mesmerist, to test that malpractice, I experimented by taking some large doses of morphine, to see if Christian Science could not obviate its effect; and I say with tearful thanks, 'The drug has no effect upon me whatever.' The hour has struck, 'If they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them.'" "Miscellaneous Writings," topic "Falsehood," p. 249. **This surpasses Cagliostro's challenge to the Empress Catherine's physician, who denounced him as a quack and his elixir as a humbug. Prepare, said Cagliostro, the most deadly poisons of which you know and I will do the same. I will take your poison and then swallow a dose of my antidote. You shall take mine and save yourself as best you can.**

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lost, and the argument, with its rightful conclusions, becomes correspondingly obscure."*

In view of her concrete experiences, Mrs. Eddy's opinions upon marriage in the abstract become interesting. In reply to the question, "What do you think of marriage?" she answers:

"That it is often convenient, sometimes pleasant, and occasionally a love affair. Marriage is susceptible of many definitions. It sometimes presents the most wretched condition of human existence. To be normal it must be a union of the affections that tends to lift mortals higher."†

That her so-called "science" does not fully accord with the prevalent views of decent men she admits by replying in this manner to the question: "Is marriage nearer right than celibacy?"

"*Human knowledge inculcates that it is, while Science indicates that it is not.* But to force the consciousness of scientific being before it is understood is impossible, and believing otherwise would prevent scientific demonstration. . . .

"Rights that are bargained away must not be retaken by the contractors, except by mutual consent. *Human nature has bestowed on a wife the right to become a mother; but if the wife esteems not this privilege, by mutual consent, exalted and increased affections, she may win a higher.* Science touches the conjugal question on the basis of a bill of rights. Can the bill of Conjugal Rights be fairly stated by a magistrate or by a minister?"‡

The abolition of marriage she seems to consider possible, if not desirable, although not now practicable.

"To abolish marriage at this period, and maintain morality and generation, *would put ingenuity to ludicrous shifts, yet this is possible in Science, although it is to-day problematic.*"§

Quitting gladly these recitals of "personal events," that have given us *"the nexus,"* we may turn to Mrs. Eddy's account of her priceless discovery that the study of Anatomy, Physiology and every branch of Medical Science, the practice of Medicine, according to any School, or of Animal Magnetism, Movement Cure, Clairvoyance, Mind Cure and Faith Cure, even the taking of exercise and observance of hygienic rules, are all wrong and harmful, Christian Science being the sole curative.|| She says:

"This discovery was so new,—the basis it laid down for physical and moral health was so *hopelessly original*, and men were so unfamiliar with the subject, that I did not venture upon its publication until later."

*"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 28.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 52.
‡"Miscellaneous Writings," pp. 288-289.
§"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 286.
||See NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March for citations upon this point.

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But eventually she published her first book, "The Science of Man," and she tells us that when "people were healed by simply reading it, the copy right was infringed. I entered a suit at law and my copyright was protected."*

Here we see that Mrs. Eddy's "Key to the Scriptures" does not interpret literally the command, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away;" or the other, "And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." She vociferously cries "copyright, copyright," lest her students or the Quimbyites nest, Bathylluslike, where she has builded. Fear is disease; yet in terror lest her own disciples filch her discovery, she sets up this scarecrow on her literary domain.

"*If you should print and publish your copy of my works you would be liable to arrest for infringement of copyright, which the law defines and punishes as theft!* . . . Your manuscript copy is liable, in some way, to be printed as your original writings, thus incurring the penalty of the law, and increasing the record of *theft* in the United States Circuit Court."†

Thus, while claiming supernatural knowledge of God's laws, Mrs. Eddy, to protect her pocketbook, grossly misstates the law of the land, under which infringement of copyright is not theft or punishable as crime.

It was high time for some one to discover Mrs. Eddy's discovery; for she says with that modesty of which we are in quest:

"Even the Scripture gave no direct interpretation of the Scientific basis for demonstrating the spiritual Principle of healing, until our Heavenly Father saw fit, through the 'Key to the Scriptures,' in 'Science and Health,' to unlock this 'mystery of godliness.'"‡

This fear lest her copyright be infringed constantly haunts Mrs. Eddy. As late as June 4, 1899, in her address to the First Church at its annual communion, she says: "All published quotations from my works must have the author's name added to them; quotation marks are not sufficient. Borrowing from my copyrighted works without credit is inadmissible."§

Unless she had found the key to this mystery no one else could have done so:

"It is often asked why Christian Science was revealed to me as *one Intelligence analyzing, uncovering, and annihilating the false testimony*

*"First Publications," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 47.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 300. See also "Retrospection and Introspection," under the titles "The Precious Volume," pp. 49-51, and "Plagiarism," p. 93.
‡"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 51.
§*N. Y. Times*, June 5, 1899.

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*of the physical senses. . . . No one else can drain the cup which I have drunk to the dregs, as the discoverer and teacher of Christian Science; neither can its inspiration be gained without tasting the cup."**

P. P. Quimby in particular, Mrs. Eddy says, could not have originated her system because:

"No mortal could first have informed the human mind of what the mortal and carnal cannot discern." †

That is to say, Mr. Quimby being mortal and carnal never could have discovered what Mrs. Eddy found out because of her immortality and uncarnality. But from this position, when it suits her purpose, she turns with "intelligent ease," and claims for herself health and other carnal attributes. Thus answering allegations that she was "sick, and unable to speak a loud word," Mrs. Eddy says:

"Lecturing, writing, preaching, teaching, etc., give fair proof *that my shadow is not growing less and substance is taking larger proportions.*"‡

This boast puts her in a "parlous" state under her own definitions:

"The physical senses or sensuous nature I called error and shadow. Soul I denominated substance because soul alone is truly substantial."§

Having discovered Christian Science, it next became necessary to exploit the discovery and Mrs. Eddy went about the task systematically.

"In 1867 I introduced the first purely metaphysical system of healing since the Apostolic days. I begun by teaching one student Christian Science Mind-healing. From this seed grew the Massachusetts Metaphysical College in Boston, chartered in 1881. *No charter was granted for similar purposes after* 1883. It is the only College hitherto for teaching the pathology of spiritual power, alias the Science of Mind-healing."‖

She does not recite her charter or its purpose; and what she omits to say is often more significant than what she says. But the records of the Commonwealth contain the instrument, which does not mention either Christian Science or any new discovery, but simply incorporates a College for the purpose of "teaching pathology, ontology, therapeutics, moral science, metaphysics and their adaptation to the treatment of disease." This charter was

*"Retrospection and Introspection," pp. 38-39.
†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 44.
‡"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 288.
§"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 90.
‖"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 55.

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granted under an Act concerning Associations for Religious, Charitable, Educational and other purposes,* under which were organized four other colleges mentioned in the Fifth Annual Report of the Illinois Board of Health† as fraudulent. This Act was subsequently merged into Chapter 115 of the Public Statutes. Owing to the shameless manufacture and sale of diplomas, the so-called "anti-diploma law" was enacted in 1883,‡ prohibiting societies organized for medical purposes under that statute from conferring degrees or issuing diplomas, unless specially authorized by the Legislature so to do. Conferment of degrees in violation of this law was made punishable by a fine of not less than $500 nor more than $1,000; and here would seem to be sufficient explanation of the facts that "no charter was granted for similar purposes after 1883," and that Mrs. Eddy came in the end, as we shall see presently, to entertain "conscientious scruples about diplomas."

Mrs. Eddy's institution, if we may believe her, prospered marvellously. Its course was short, its faculty small, its tuition fees greater than those of Harvard, Yale or Columbia. Its instruction was contained in one text book. Its classes were only three in number, the primary, the normal and the obstetric. Mrs. Eddy seems to have taught them all; and why not, since one principle applies to all cases, whether of fevers, wounds, difficult labors or any other forms of error in mortal mind? So far as appears from "Retrospection and Introspection," the only other teachers were her last husband, Asa G. Eddy, who taught two terms, her adopted son, Ebenezer J. Foster Eddy,§ who taught one term, and a military gentleman, of whom she says:

"General Erastus N. Bates taught one primary class in 1889, after which I judged it best to close the institution."‖

It made no particular difference in what class students studied. The primary instruction was all sufficient, and even that was unnecessary; for Mrs. Eddy expressly says:

"A Primary class student richly imbued with the spirit of Christ, is a better healer and teacher than a Normal class student who partakes less of His love. Having received my instructions in the Primary class and afterwards studied thoroughly '*Science and Health*,'

*Ch. 375, Acts 1874; embodied later in Ch. 115, Public Statutes.
†Excelsior, Bellevue, Medical Department of American University of Boston, First Medical College of American Health Society.
‡Act June 30, 1883.—Dr. Booth in 1893 was sent to prison for selling in New York the Excelsior's diplomas.
§This gentleman, according to the *Arena*, has renounced both Mrs. Eddy's name and her nonsense.
‖"College and Church," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 55.

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the student should not hesitate to enter upon this privileged Gospel work, and so fulfil the command of Christ. Yea, an apt Bible scholar and a consecrated Christian by *deeply dipping into my last revised 'Science and Health,'* may even enter this field of labor without any personal instruction,—*beneficially to himself* and the race."*

The curriculum consisted of only twelve lessons, lasting half a day each and extending over three weeks. The tuition fee was three hundred dollars. Mrs. Eddy admits that she was staggered when this sum suggested itself to her. But God, notwithstanding her unselfishness, led her to try the experiment and it succeeded. We are not burlesquing; that is impossible; her own words fairly travesty burlesque.

"*When God impelled me to set a price on my instruction in Christian Science Mind-healing, I could think of no financial equivalent for an impartation of a knowledge of that divine power which heals; but I was led to name three hundred dollars as the price for each pupil in one course of lessons at my college,—a startling sum for tuition lasting barely three weeks. This amount greatly troubled me. I shrank from asking it, but was finally led, by a strange Providence, to accept this fee.*

"God has since shown me, in multitudinous ways, the wisdom of this decision; and I beg disinterested people to ask my loyal students if they consider three hundred dollars any real equivalent for my instruction *during twelve half days or even in half as many lessons.* Nevertheless, my list of indigent charity scholars is very large, and I have had as many as seventeen in one class." †

Why should her "students" have grumbled at the price? Reputable medical colleges require their students to study for years before conferring degrees upon them. They also require of them, before admission, preliminary education. Most of the States forbid unlicensed persons to practice medicine, and some exact a State examination of medical graduates as prerequisite to license. But here was a school pretending to teach, under the guise of religion, an infallible method of cure to any one able to read a single book of nonsense. The head of the college, having avowed that, by the very operation of her new discovery, she had forgotten what little she had learned from books, naturally required no preliminary education of her disciples. On the contrary, she expressly discouraged it, as appears from this question and answer:

"What can prospective students of the College take for preliminary studies? Do you regard the study of literature and languages as objectionable?

"Persons contemplating a course at the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, can prepare for it through no books except the Bible and

*"College Closed," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 60-61.
†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 64.

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'Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures.' Man-made theories are narrow, else extravagant, and always materialistic."*

Again she says:

"I recommend students not to read so-called scientific works, antagonistic to Christian Science, which advocate materialistic systems; because such works and words becloud the right sense of Metaphysical Science."†

Having thus impressed the duty of ignorance upon her disciples, she dubbed them, within three weeks or less, in consideration of the fee of $300, doctors of Christian Science, and bade them treat all diseases. The price was cheap enough. Buchanan's notorious college offered no easier terms; and it was not strange if the college prospered; but Mrs. Eddy probably does not underestimate its prosperity when she says that just before its dissolution, 300 students were clamoring for admission. Assume this to be true, then, at $300 each, these "students" would have paid $90,000 for twelve half-days' instruction, or $7,500 a half-day! Why was this Golconda closed? From unselfishness and *conscientious scruples* about diplomas!

"The apprehension of what has been, and must be, the final outcome of material organization, which wars with Love's spiritual compact, *caused me to dread the unprecedented popularity of my College.* Students from all over our Continent and from Europe were flooding the school. At this time there were over three hundred applications from students desiring to enter the college, and applicants were rapidly increasing. Example had shown the dangers arising from being placed on earthly pinnacles. Even goodness shuns whatever involves material means for the promotion of spiritual ends.

"In view of all this, a meeting was called of the Board of Directors of my college, who, being informed of my intention, unanimously voted that the school be discontinued. . . .

"The Massachusetts Metaphysical College drew its breath from me, but I was yearning for retirement. The question was, Who else could sustain this institute, under *all that was aimed at its vital purpose*, the establishment of genuine Christian Science Healing. *My conscientious scruples about diplomas*, the recent experience of the church fresh in my thoughts, and the growing conviction that every one should build on his own foundation, subject to the one builder and maker, God,—all these considerations moved me to close my flourishing school.‡"

Does not this explanation over-tax credulity? Was any other college ever closed because of its "unprecedented popularity?" Was it the anti-diploma law that was "aimed at its vital purpose?" Why is it, too, that notwithstanding these "conscientious scruples

*"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 64.
†"Admonition," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 96.
‡"Retrospection and Introspection," pp. 60-61.

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about diplomas" a great number of persons, male and female, still tack to their names the symbolic letters "C. S." and "C. S. D." recently acquired, upon what authority it is hard to say, unles it be the right of any free-born citizen, in the absence of prohibitory legislation, to assume any title that strikes the fancy and appropriate all the "symbolic letters" of the alphabet? Having thus fully equipped her pupils, Mrs. Eddy encouraged them to settle down in great cities, not alone for the glory of God, but for this practical reason:

"The population of our principal cities is ample to supply many practitioners, teachers and preachers with work."*

And in order that they might "enter this field of labor beneficially to themselves," the shrewd Mother thus taught:

"*Christian Science* demonstrates that *the patient who pays whatever he is able to pay for being healed is more apt to recover than he who withholds a slight equivalent for health.*"†

And yet these people deny in Court, when arraigned for unlawful practice of medicines and manslaughter, that they demand fees for their services!

When was so sordid a doctrine ever preached by medical men? What standing would a physician have who should teach that the cure depends upon the fee? Is this preachment inspired by God or Mammon, by Unselfishness or Greed? Whatever its inspiration, it has been so well lived up to that its "discoverer" proudly exclaims:

"In the early history of Christian Science, among my thousands of students few were wealthy. Now Christian Scientists are not indigent; and *their comfortable fortunes are acquired by healing mankind, morally, physically, spiritually.*"‡

With one or two more quotations to illustrate the divine elegance and grace, of which Mr. Norton speaks, and the method by which the new system of healing is advertised, we may leave behind us very cheerfully Mrs. Eddy and all her works. The "Miscellaneous Writings" are made up in about equal proportions of answers to questions, letters and essays, doggerel rhymes and advertising certificates; one or two excerpts will illustrate the author's facility in each department of her work. To one who asks: "Has Mrs. Eddy lost her power to heal?" she replies modestly:

*"Admonition," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 102.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," pp. 300-301.
‡Preface to "Miscellaneous Writings," p. vii.

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"Has the sun forgotten to shine and the planets to revolve around it? Who is it that discovered, demonstrated and teaches Christian Science? That one, whoever it be, does understand something of what cannot be lost."*

To the pertinent question: "How does Mrs. Eddy know that she has read and studied correctly if one must deny the evidences of the senses; she had to use her eyes to read?" She answers:

"Having eyes ye see not! I read the inspired page through a higher than mortal sense. *As matter, the eye cannot see; and as mortal mind it is a belief that sees. I may read the Scriptures through a belief of eyesight,* but I must spiritually understand them to interpret their science."†

Comment upon this would gild refined gold.

Another answer we quote with hesitation, and only because it is thoroughly typical. We fear that ordinary mortal minds will find it not divinely graceful and elegant but rather vulgar and grossly irreverent, offensive to good taste and shocking to piety.

"Are both prayer and drugs necessary to heal?" says the interlocutor, and Mrs. Eddy replies: "It is difficult to say how much one can do for himself, whose faith is divided between Catnip and Christ; but not so difficult to know that if he were to serve one master he could do vastly more."‡

Mrs. Eddy's rhetorical flowers are of the gayest, and would have delighted Mrs. Malaprop. One of the most "hopelessly original" occurs in a warning against Animal Magnetism, the specialty of P. P. Quimby, but now considered by Mrs. Eddy, his late patient, to be the "chief delusion," of which the "honest Christion Scientist" must rid himself before he can heal:

"*For it is a Delilah who would lead him into the toils of the enemy, where Cerberus (the apt symbol of Animal Magnetism) waits to devour the self-deceived.*"§

Against Delilah and Cerberus thus conspiring, one would be justified in combining with "an allegory from the banks of the Nile." She delights in original martial similes, possibly from association with Gen. Erastus N. Bates. Thus she says:

"As the pioneer of Christian Science I stood alone in this conflict, endeavoring to smite error with the falchion of Truth. The rare bequests of Christian Science are costly, and they have won fields of battle from which the dainty borrower would have fled."‖

*"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 54.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 58.
‡"Miscellaneous Writings," pp. 51, 52.
§"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 73.
‖"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 38.

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This enlistment of "bequests" in active service is more novel than Christian Science itself. In view of their cost and courage they seem to be a sort of Hessians. Again she writes:

"With armor on, I continue the march, command and counter-command, meanwhile interluding with loving thought this afterpiece of battle. Supported, cheered, I take my pen and pruning-hook, to 'learn war no more,' and with strong wing to lift my readers above the smoke of conflict into light and liberty."*

Why should she persist in marching, fully armed, commanding and counter-commanding "with intelligent ease," if the battle is over? If it is still on, why interlude its afterpiece, grasp pen and pruning hook and, at the same time, lift readers on a strong wing? It is all sadly puzzling.

Criticism of Mrs. Eddy's poetry we shall not again venture upon. The March REVIEW timidly suggested that, in rhyming "debris" with "unweary," "ween" with "dream," "now thus" with "hails us," and "deep" with "complete," the gifted author, while showing great boldness and originality, had departed from ordinary rhyming conventions. But this position was demolished by a shot from the *Christian Science Sentinel*, of April 20th.

"His condemnations are exactly like those usually applied to Browning in regard to rhyme and meaning, but no mother will find fault with the following couplet from 'The Mother's Evening Prayer':

" 'Thou love that guards the nestling's faltering flight!
Keep thou my child on upward wing to-night.' "

We frankly admit that no mother would find fault with that couplet—unless she knew how to parse simple English sentences; and we despair of answering the argument that because Browning nods doggerel is poetry.

But however obscure Mrs. Eddy may be in her poetry and controversial writings, she adopts, in that part of "Miscellaneous Writings" devoted to advertising her business, a clear style so remarkably like that of another famous lady of Lynn that it has caused her to be called "the Lydia Pinkham of the Soul." The certificates of cures about to be quoted are included in Mrs. Eddy's "copyrighted" works; and we assume this to indicate authorship, for one as scrupulous as she on this point would scarcely copyright the productions of others.

J. B. H. writes:

"I am glad to tell you how I was healed. Beliefs of consumption,

*Preface to "Miscellaneous Writings," p. x.

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dyspepsia, neuralgia, piles, tobacco, and bad language held me in bondage for many years. Doctors that were consulted did nothing to relieve me, and I constantly grew worse. Nearly two years ago a lady told me that if I would read a book called "Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures," I would be healed. I told her I would 'go into it for all it was worth,' and I have found that it is worth all. I got the book, and read day and night: I saw that it must be true, and believed that what I could not then understand would be made clear later.

"After some days' reading I was affected with drowsiness followed by vomiting. This lasted several hours; when I fell into a sleep, and awoke healed."*

Here is a letter bubbling with unconscious humor. It purports to come from a gentleman who owes his life to Mrs. Eddy's book, yet fears to imperil his health by visiting the author.

"Dear Madam: May I thank you for your book, 'Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures,' and say how much I owe to it—almost my very life—at a most critical time. . . .

"If it were not for the heat of your American summers (I had nine attacks of dysentery in the last one), and the expense, I should dearly like to learn from you personally; but I must forego this,—at any rate, for the present. If you would write me what the cost would be for a course on Divine Metaphysics, I would try to manage it later on.

"Meanwhile, I should be grateful if you would refer me to any one in this country who is interested similarly, for I get more kicks than halfpence in discussing it.

"Your obliged friend,

"(Rev.) I. G. W. Bishop.

"Bovington Vicarage,
"Hemel Hempstead, Herts, England."†

K. L. H. recites this remarkable and instantaneous cure of a child by a few pages of "Science and Health."

"A dear little six-year-old boy of my acquaintance was invited by his teacher, with the rest of his class in Kindergarten School, to attend a picnic one afternoon. He did not feel that he wanted to go; seemed dumpish, and, according to mortal belief, was not well; at noon, he said he wanted to go to sleep.

"His mother took him in her lap and began to read to him from 'Science and Health, With Key to the Scriptures.' *Very soon he expressed a wish to go to the picnic and did go.*"‡

We have thus given overabundantly and tediously, perhaps, sufficient citations in Mrs. Eddy's own words to enable any intelligent person to judge whether he is willing to accept her intellectual and spiritual leadership, or to believe that God waited nineteen hundred years for her to illuminate, by such jargon as

*"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 405.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 408.
‡"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 444.

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"Science and Health," the teachings of Christ, which, she bluntly says, could not have been apprehended from the Scriptures alone prior to the publication of her "Key." It is with a sense of intellectual humiliation that we have dealt with these dreary and vulgar banalities. The excuse for so doing is found, however, in such incidents as occurred in the City of New York on Sunday, the 28th day of May, when the Metropolitan Opera House was filled with an audience, certainly of average intelligence, to hear the lecturer already referred to, Mr. Carol Norton, introduced by a gentleman holding judicial office in the State, who declared that legislation directed against Christian Science would infringe upon the constitutional right to religious liberty. While a great number in that audience were animated by mere curiosity, undoubtedly many accepted in good faith Mrs. Eddy's claim to have discovered a new religious truth capable of healing disease in marvelous fashion. It is because we cannot bring ourselves to believe that such persons appreciate the character of their teacher or the nature of her pretences that we have been willing to reproduce her own account of her life and her methods.

With those who can accept as divinely inspired the absurdities, solecisms and incoherencies of Mrs. Eddy, and who think to explain them by saying that obscurities and errors are to be found in works of the great writers, there can be no argument. "Intelligent ease" in shifting premises precludes discussion. How could the Bishop argue with the genial madman who, after introducing himself as George Washington, said a few moments later that he was Napoleon Bonaparte? "But," said the Bishop, "a moment ago you were Washington." "So I was," said the bedlamite with "intelligent ease," "but by another mother." It is entirely possible, however, to state the case against this pseudo philosophy convincingly to those who are interested in it because of its alleged miraculous cures.

First. As a mere religious or philosophic theory, Christian Science never would have had any vogue. Its fascination lies in its pretended cures. No one suggests taking action to restrain it as a form of worship. The most that has been suggested in regard to it has been that its ignorant votaries should not be allowed to trifle with the life and health of adults, children and the entire community, by assuming the treatment of all classes of disease, including surgical cases and contagious and infectious mal-

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adies. To say that it is infringement of religious liberty to require the same skill and knowledge of Christian Scientists, engaging in the business of curing the sick for hire, as is required of Presbyterians or Catholics in the same business shows ignorance of the constitutional doctrine of the Mormon cases, or carelessness of statement, or such wilfull misstatement as Mrs. Eddy personally was guilty of when she said that infringement of copyright is theft, punishable criminally.

Second. Christian Science has no healing power peculiar to itself, as distinguished from faith cure or any other method of diverting the mind from the ills of the body. If it had such divine power, its application would be universal; it would be effective in surgery as in physic. Mrs. Eddy pretends that this universal applicability exists; but, in admitting that for the present "it is better to leave the adjustment, of broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of surgeons,"* she confesses the falsity of her treatment and the impotence of her method. Mr. Norton has recently shown the same lack of faith and of ability to match promise with performance. Having offered to give medical proof of cures of cancer, locomotor ataxia, etc., he was asked to name the diagnostician and describe the treatment, the precautions to exclude other factors of cure, and the patients' present condition. He produced in fact no testimony of evidential force to trained minds, but only certificates of Christian Scientists similar in kind and value to the "puffs" above quoted from "Miscellaneous Writings." He was asked how he would treat these cases of emergency: a cranial wound caused by a falling brick; strangulation of a child from swallowing a fish bone; exposure of a child to confluent small-pox; severing of a child's artery by a cable car accident; fracture of a baby's skull by a fall. He was also asked if in curing cancers he made differential diagnosis between them, boils, carbuncles, etc. Lest he be misquoted his written words are given:

"I make no diagnosis except along the lines of *consistent mental therapeutics*. An expert in mental therapeutics will naturally know the character of this diagnosis. Discord is discord. *Pain is pain. Disease is disease.* The principle that cures one if *rightly applied, will cure all.* This is the beginning and end of rational mental healing. In relation to mental treatment for a severed artery, I said simply that *I believed* the *proper* application of *Mind* power would do the same work, if not better, than any other method. I beg that you quote me

*NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, March, 1899, p. 356.

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correctly, if you ever quote me, and I most thoroughly disagree with the understanding you got about diagnosis. In reply to the list of questions that you wrote to me in a recent letter, I have but to repeat my recent utterances in a letter to you, that *I prefer to shelve them*, because to answer them would bring about wholly indifferent results."

The italics are his and ours. To say that Christian Science is efficacious *if rightly or properly applied* leaves open a wide door. *To shelve* the other questions confesses inability to answer them without making fatal admissions. To say "Pain is pain. Disease is disease" flatly contradicts Mrs. Eddy.*

Third. Why is it then that Christian Science is credited with these marvellous cures, if its foremost professors cannot bring forward any better proofs of them than are afforded by certificates no better in manner and degree than those accompanying every quack nostrum that is advertised. The explanation is simple. In perhaps the majority of cases to which physicians are called, nothing more is needed than regimen and the mental stimulus that comes to the patient with knowledge that he is under skilled care. If a physician falls ill, he calls another to attend him, chiefly for the sake of this mental stimulus and to eliminate the personal factor. Drugs and surgical appliances may be needed in only a small proportion of cases; but, like a revolver in Texas, they are needed greatly when the occasion arises. Many diseases are self limited, many are feigned, or due to a fixed idea which may operate even in surgery, as when a patient, under the erroneous impression that his leg is broken, unconsciously inhibits muscular action and is unable to put foot to the ground, until dispossessed of the inhibitory idea by mechanical devices or any method, even Christian Science, changing the mental attitude. In all such cases, whatever removes the mental tension may be beneficial. Many patients would get well without any attendance at all. To take an illustration: Child-birth, in which Christian Scientists profess great success, is not a disease, but the operation of a normal function. In the absence of complications, attendance is not necessary although it may be desirable. But in the presence of certain complications, the very highest skill is necessary to save life. Will any sane person say that, because in the vast majority of cases children may be brought into the world safely under the attendance of a Christian Scientist, such a person is to be pardoned who undertakes such a complication as that of *placenta praevia* with neither

*Space is lacking to exhibit the correspondence in detail. It appears more fully in the *N. Y. Sun* of June 9, 1899.

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medical skill nor knowledge? Will any parent be willing, in case a child's artery is severed, to call a Christian Scientist rather than a surgeon? Upon the answers to these questions depends the acceptance by reasoning persons of Mrs. Eddy's theory and claim that her followers can cure all forms of human maladies and injuries, and that they should be allowed to treat medical and surgical cases without the responsibility for malpractice that rests upon medical men.

We devoutly believe that Mrs. Eddy is an instrument in the hands of God, not for the healing of the nations, but to humble us intellectually by showing that, at the end of the nineteenth century, professedly intelligent persons can be as easily duped by her as their forbears were by Cagliostro at the close of the eighteenth.

W. A. PURRINGTON.

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ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION.

BY JOSEPH D. SAYERS, GOVERNOR OF TEXAS.

HAVING been requested to explain the purpose and provisions of the Anti-Trust Law of Texas, I feel that I can best do so by employing, to a very considerable extent, the language of the Act itself—thus insuring accuracy in a statement that might otherwise be faulty.

The object of the Act, as expressed in the preamble, is: "To prohibit pools, trusts, monopolies and conspiracies to control business and prices of articles; to prevent the formation or operation of pools, trusts, monopolies and combinations of charters of corporations that violate the terms of the Act; and to authorize the institution of prosecutions and suits therefor."

The Act itself prohibits any corporation doing business in the State, or any partnership, or individual or other association of persons whatsoever, creating, entering into, becoming a member of or a party to any pool, trust, agreement, combination, confederation or understanding with any other corporation, partnership, individual or any other person or association of persons, to regulate or fix the price of any article of manufacture, mechanism, merchandise, commodity, convenience, repair, any product of mining, or any article or thing whatsoever, or the price or premium to be paid for insuring property against loss or damage by fire, lightning or storm, or to maintain said price when so regulated or fixed; or entering into, becoming a member of, or a party to any pool, agreement, combination, contract, association or confederation to fix or limit the amount or quality of any article of manufacture, mechanism, merchandise, commodity, convenience, repair, any product of mining, or any article or thing whatsoever, or the price or premium to be paid for insuring property against loss or damage by fire, lightning, storm,

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cyclone, tornado, or any other kind of policy issued by any corporation, partnership, individual or association of persons. A violation of this provision is denounced as a conspiracy to defraud.

A "monopoly" is declared to be any union or combination or consolidation or affiliation of capital, credit, property, assets, trade, custom, skill or acts, or of any other valuable thing or possession, by or between persons, firms or corporations, or associations of persons, firms or corporations whereby any one of the purposes or objects mentioned in the Act is accomplished or sought to be accomplished, or whereby any one or more of said purposes are promoted or attempted to be executed or carried out, or whereby the several results described in the Act are reasonably calculated to be produced.

As thus defined, a monopoly is made to include not merely such combinations by and between two or more persons, firms or corporations acting for themselves, but especially all aggregations, amalgamations, affiliations, consolidations, or incorporations of capital, skill, credit, assets, property, custom, trade or other valuable thing or possession, whether effected by the ordinary methods of partnership or by actual union under the legal form of a corporation, or an incorporated body resulting from the union of one or more distinct firms or corporations, or by the purchase, acquisition or control of shares or certificates of stock or bonds, or other corporate property or franchises. All corporations or partnerships that have been or may be created by the consolidation or amalgamation of the separate capital, stock, bonds, assets, credit, properties, custom, trade or corporate or firm belongings of two or more firms or corporations, or companies, are held to constitute monopolies within the meaning of the Act, if so created or entered into for any one or more of the purposes therein named.

The leasing, renting or operating in their own name, and the refusal or failure to put on the market for sale by any corporation, co-partnership, firm or individual, who may be the owner or lessee of the same, a patent for any machinery, intended, used or designed for manufacturing any raw materials, or for preparing the same for market by any wrapping, baling or other process, is also adjudged a monopoly. So is the refusal by any corporation, co-partnership, firm or individual, which may gather items of news

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or press dispatches, for sale to newspapers, to sell the same to more than one newspaper, to a stated number of inhabitants of any city, town, or sub-division of the State, or within a certain radius of territory. In the same category is placed every association of newspapers formed for the purpose of exchanging items of news and press dispatches, which may require of its members, under penalty of forfeiting their membership, that they do not sell to or exchange with newspapers not members of such associations, any items of news or press dispatches. A monopoly, as thus determined, is declared to be unlawful and against public policy, and any and all persons, firms, corporations or association of persons engaged therein are held guilty of a conspiracy to defraud.

And again, if any person, persons, company, partnership, association or corporation, engaged in the manufacture of any article of commerce or consumption from the raw material produced or mined in the State, shall, with the intent or purpose of driving out competition, or of financially injuring competitors, sell at less than the cost of manufacture, or give away their manufactured products for the purpose of driving out competition, or financially injuring competitors, such person, persons, company, partnership, association, or corporation is held guilty of a conspiracy to form or secure a trust or monopoly in restraint of trade.

Furthermore, if any person, persons, company, partnership, association, corporation or agent, engaged in the manufacture or sale of any article of commerce or consumption produced, manufactured or mined in the State, or elsewhere, shall, with the intent or purpose of driving out competition, or financially injuring competitors, sell within the State at less than the cost of manufacture or production, or sell in such a way, or give away within the State their products for the purpose of driving out competition or financially injuring competitors, such person, persons, company, partnership, association, corporation or agent is deemed guilty of a conspiracy to form or secure a trust or monopoly in restraint of trade.

And, lastly, if any two or more persons or corporations, who are engaged in buying or selling any article of commerce, manufacture, merchandise, mechanism, commodity, convenience, repair, any product of mining, or any article or thing whatsoever,

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shall enter into any pool, trust, agreement, combination, confederation, association or understanding to control or limit the trade in any such article or thing, or to limit competition in such trade by refusing to buy from or sell to any other person or corporation any such article or thing aforesaid, for the reason that such other person or corporation is not a member of or a party to such pool, trust, agreement, combination, confederation, association or understanding, or shall boycott or threaten any person or corporation for buying from or selling to any other person or corporation, who is not a member of or party to such pool, trust, agreement, combination, confederation, association or understanding, any such article or thing aforesaid, it shall be a violation of the Act; and any person, firm, corporation or association of persons committing such violation is deemed guilty of a conspiracy to defraud.

The penalty for the violation of any provision of the Act by any person, partnership, firm or association, or any representative or agent thereof, or any corporation or company, or any officer, representative or agent thereof, is a forfeiture by the offender of not less than two hundred dollars, nor more than five thousand dollars for every offence, and each day of such violation is made a separate offence.

Should any corporation organized under the law of the State violate any provision of the Act, such offence will work a forfeiture of its franchise and privileges; if the offending corporation has been created by the law of any other State or country, it will forfeit its right and privileges thereafter to do business in Texas.

The sale, delivery or disposition of any of the articles, commodities or things mentioned in the Act, by any individual, company or corporation transacting business contrary to the provisions of the Act, within this State or elsewhere, is declared to be unlawful, and contrary to public policy. The purchaser of any article or commodity from any such offending individual, company or corporation is relieved of liability for the price or payment thereof, and may plead the Act as a defence to any suit for the price or payment, whether the purchase was made directly from the individual, company or corporation, or indirectly from an agent, representative, solicitor or canvasser; and if any money or other thing of value is paid in such a transaction,

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the person paying the same may recover back the amount of the money or the value of the thing so paid.

It is made the duty of the Attorney General, and of the District and County Attorneys, to enforce the provisions of the Act. Suits instituted under it have precedence of all other business, except criminal cases, where the defendants are in jail. The prosecuting attorney receives a compensation of one-fourth of the penalty collected.

In order to insure, if possible, complete compliance with the Act, the Secretary of State is required, on or about the first day of July of each year, or at such times as he shall deem necessary, to address to the President, Secretary or Treasurer of each corporation doing business in the State, a letter of inquiry as to whether such corporation has all or any part of its business or interest in or with any trust, combination or association of persons or stockholders as named in the Act, and to require an answer under oath from such President, Secretary or Treasurer, or from any director of the company. Accompanying the letter of inquiry will be a form of affidavit to be made, which covers carefully and minutely every proposition involved in the Act. The law takes effect on January 31, 1900.

It will be observed that the measure under consideration is altogether impartial in its application. It speaks for itself and requires no explanation that its meaning may be understood. Its language is plain, direct and clear. Comprehensive, far-reaching and drastic, it undertakes to deal with all alike—not discriminating as to individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, or trusts, nor favoring any character of pursuit or business. Its denunciations and its penalties fall equally upon all—the resident and the non-resident, the local and the foreign. Any assault that may be attempted on its validity, cannot be predicated upon the ground that it is obnoxious in this respect to any provision of the Federal Constitution or of the organic law of the State.

The important questions in the consideration of the matter are, first: Do the conditions in which the country is involved warrant the enactment of such legislation? and, secondly: Is it possible through the method adopted to accomplish the purpose in view? It cannot be denied that the Trusts already created are many and strong, and that they have been and are con-

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tinually being formed for almost every conceivable object. Very rarely does the press fail in any issue to record the organization of some new trust of great proportions. Their number and magnitude are almost inconceivable. There appears to be no limit to the unwonted activity in this direction. Industries of every kind are rapidly losing their individuality, and are permitting themselves to be absorbed by enterprises of a like character, all being operated and controlled by one central authority. Competition is fast ceasing to be a factor in the economics of the country. Heretofore, we have been taught to believe that it was the life of trade. Nowadays, however, we are advised that this is a most grievous error and that the contrary doctrine is the true theory. The wisdom of the fathers has become foolishness in the eyes of their sons, and the experience of centuries has proven of no value, except, perhaps, to demonstrate that commerce and manufacture have hitherto been conducted upon lines that were altogether false and misleading.

It has been asserted by some, who claim themselves qualified to speak upon the subject, that Trusts, as operated in the United States, are not harmful, and that they are but the outgrowth of an evolution in industrial life that is natural, healthful and necessary. On the other hand, it is insisted, and I think rightfully, that they are, in a great measure, if not entirely, due to vicious legislation—to the policy of the Federal Government in the matter of currency and taxation, and to that of the States in the creation of corporations. A high protective tariff, which excludes foreign competition, and a single gold standard which limits the volume of currency and enhances the value of that in circulation, supplemented by the easy formation of corporations under State authority, are the potent instrumentalities upon which the Trust depends for its existence. If, under the Trust-reign, the industries of the country be passing into the hands of the few, if the products of other lands be so heavily taxed as to be, in a great measure, denied entrance into our ports, and our people be thereby compelled to buy and use only those manufactured at home, if the cost of production and distribution is being reduced to the minimum, if the output is being so regulated as not to exceed a given quantity, and its selling price determined by the Trust exclusively, if the small dealers are being put under duress as to those from whom and as to what they may buy, and as to how they may sell, if individual effort be

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no longer able to compete successfully with corporate power and corporate advantage, if young and weak industries are being strangled to death and the establishment of new and independent enterprises prevented, it cannot be doubted that for this untoward and unhealthy condition of industrial and commercial life legislation is, in a large degree, responsible. If the Trusts shall be permitted to organize and to operate as for the last several years, the result is certain that a more disastrous panic than has ever been known will sooner or later occur. Much of the stock issued by these organizations is entirely fictitious, and does not represent real capital. Money-lenders will some day refuse to recognize it as safe security, and then the storm will burst forth in all its fury. Under such circumstances, what is the duty of government? To it do Trusts and corporations, either directly or indirectly, owe their being, and upon it, therefore, rests the obligation to see to it that they, its creatures, shall not harm the people.

It is reported that the Attorney General of the United States has said that the Federal Government is helpless to wage a successful warfare against the gigantic evils which proceed from the Trust-power, and that relief can only be had through the State Governments. Congress can, if it but will, render the most effective and substantial assistance. Let it reverse the present policy as to the currency and the tariff, putting the two metals upon an entire equality, and providing for a fairer and more general distribution of the currency, and lowering the duties on imports so that the productions of other countries may compete with those controlled by the Trusts. This much Congress can and should do. In the meantime, let the States perform their duty.

I have lately assumed to suggest a conference of the Governors and Attorneys General of all the States and Territories, without exception, to consider the subject, and, if possible, to devise and unite upon such legislation as would overthrow the Trust-power and prevent its revival. In this matter, I have acted upon my own responsibility, and with the sole view to correct, if possible, a great and growing evil—one that threatens much harm to the country. I have had, and I will have, no purpose in view other than that distinctly specified, and I trust that, should the conference be held, no other question will be considered except that of Trusts, and the best method to be adopted by the States to insure their complete destruction within the shortest period possible.

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Identically the same letter has been addressed to every Executive. It is sincerely hoped that the conference may be attended by all, and that the question may be considered and treated with that gravity, intelligence and patriotic feeling that its importance demands. Party pride, party attachment, and party ambition should not be allowed to mar the harmony of the occasion. There should be a common impulse to do that which may be best for the people. Texas has already taken position. Come what will, she will make the fight, and, if need be, alone. With united action by the States, the result cannot be doubtful. If the Legislatures, Governors and Attorneys General of as many as twenty Commonwealths will thoroughly and sincerely agree upon a line of policy, and will execute it with courage, vigor and impartiality, the Trust-power will surely be broken. Circumscribed in the area of its operations and limited to those States to whose favor it owes its birth, it will not be able to maintain itself. It will die for the lack of material upon which to operate. The Trust should be regarded as a public enemy and should be treated as such. Arrogant, unscrupulous and merciless in the exercise of its power, it should be fought unto the very death.

JOSEPH D. SAYERS.

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JAPAN'S ENTRY INTO THE FAMILY OF NATIONS.

BY T. R. JERNIGAN, FORMERLY UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL AT SHANGHAI.

In July, 1899, Japan enters into the possession of full autonomy. This right to complete sovereignty, heretofore denied to Japan in treaties with Western nations, has been acknowledged in treaties which are now to go into effect.

Under the late treaties, foreigners in Japan are exempt from Japanese law, but now, like natives, they will be amenable to the laws and jurisdiction of the Courts of the Empire.

The conservative thought of the West may be said to mingle doubt with confidence as to the result of the change. It is doubtful, because the situation will be new, and confident, because Japan has given proofs of capacity to meet new situations.

A reference, therefore, to some of the turning points in Japanese history may be of interest at the present moment, and can not fail to allay apprehension with regard to the manner in which Japan will acquit herself under the new conditions.

Japan appears in authentic history in 461, A. D. The absolute power of the Emperor and the unbroken descent of the imperial line had long been the pride of all Japanese, and they had no sympathy with the democratic doctrine of the Chinese sages, "that the people are the most important element in a nation."

But in 552-621, A. D., Buddhist missionaries entered Japan and succeeded in converting a large majority of the people to their faith. This was an important event, as, with the conversion to Buddhism, the thought of the Empire underwent a radical change in favor of Chinese civilization, a change as radical and far reaching as the more recent change in favor of Western civilization.

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The absolutism of the Emperor continued to exist in theory, but the government was formed after the Chinese bureaucratic plan, the administration of affairs being entrusted to ministers, who were responsible to the Emperor. Before this, there had been no intermediate agencies, and in discharging the functions of government, the Emperor had acted directly. Through the medium of Buddhism, the Chinese system became engrafted upon Japan, and soon the Emperor became the mere figurehead, surrounded by women and priests.

The change was favorable to the ambition of the Ministers. It encouraged rivalry for power, and it was not long before the most influential and powerful of the Ministers prevailed. The Fujiwara family engrossed the power of the Empire, and during the second half of the eleventh and the whole of the twelfth century, the Empire was a military camp.

The great clans of Taira and Minamoto were the principal rivals, and under the banners of one or the other all Japanese were enlisted. The Emperor was shut up in his palace at Kioto, while his Empire was the scene of clan rivalry and was deluged with blood. The sword and the bow were the means to power, and the strongest arm won the mastery.

Finally, the Minamotos triumphed, and their chief, Yoritomo, styled himself Shogun. The title was ostensibly conferred by the Emperor, but it was the choice of Yoritomo himself.

This victorious clansman was practically the ruler of Japan, the Emperor being in effect a prisoner. Years went on, and it was this discrepancy between the theory and the practice in Japanese rule which has misled some writers into the belief that there were at one time two Emperors in Japan.

Here it may be noted, that the introduction of Chinese civilization resulted in establishing the Shogunate, and transferring the power of the Emperor to a military chieftain, while the introduction of Western civilization restored the Emperor to his full and rightful authority, and destroyed the power of the Shogun.

The descendants of Yoritomo did not inherit his mental vigor and diplomacy, and by a curious destiny the real authority, soon after his death, was wielded by another family known as the Hojo, the Emperor being thus removed another degree from the people; and, for more than a century, 1205-1333, the Hojos were masters of the Empire.

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It was during the Hojo Regency that the Mongols were sent by Kublai Khan to annex Japan to China, but they were repulsed, and, since then, Japan has never been attacked from without.

During the fourteenth century, Japan was again disturbed by internecine strife, which was caused by a rivalry between two branches of the Imperial family. The one was called the Northern and the other the Southern Court, and each, supported by different feudal chiefs, disputed for the crown in a civil war which lasted sixty years. The Northern Court succeeded, and from 1338 to 1565 the Ashikaga family ruled Japan as Shoguns.

In 1542, the Portuguese discovered Japan. By some imprudence on their part, and on that of the Spanish friars, a prejudice was created against the Christian religion, and the whole Empire was thrown into a state of anarchy. Each feudal chief fortified his castle and the central authority was helpless and powerless. This disorganized state of society lasted until the latter half of the sixteenth century, when there arose three men whose names are familiar to all Japanese, and who are regarded by their countrymen as unrivalled in statesmanship and military genius.

Their names are Ota Nobunaga, Taiko Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu. It was Nobunaga who first conceived the idea of centralizing all the authority of the Empire in a single person, but it remained for Hideyoshi to put the idea into practice. The latter died, however, while contemplating the conquest of China and his youthful son was set aside by Ieyasu, who quelled the turbulent feudal chiefs, assumed the title of Shogun, and established his capital at Tokio. It was with one of his descendants that Commodore Perry negotiated the treaty that first introduced Japan to Western nations.

From the date of the Shogunate of Ieyasu until 1854, when Commodore Perry anchored his ships in Japanese waters, the Tokugawa family were in absolute practical control of every function of the government of Japan. In theory, the Emperor was still supreme, and these adept masters in statecraft ostensibly recognized the Imperial supremacy in all measures relating to the government.

But there has always been among the Japanese a chivalrous and manly opposition to all authority, except that which originated in and of right belonged to the Mikado. The periods in their history when they have been forced to submit to other authority did

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not destroy, if they modified, their loyalty and zeal for the Imperial house, and on every favorable opportunity they have given proofs of both. During the two and a half centuries when the power of the Tokugawas stilled even the murmurs of opposition, the *literati* of Japan were busy preparing the thought of their countrymen for restoring to the Emperor his legal position and rights in the Empire.

If Commodore Perry had never arrived in the waters of Japan, there would have been a revolution in favor of the restoration of the Emperor, though his arrival and negotiation of a treaty with the Shogun precipitated the revolution. And, as if fate would be strange in shaping the destiny of man and of empire, the treaty made by the Shogun was made the pretext for the overthrow of the Shogunate, and the restoration of the Emperor was proclaimed as a necessity to the expulsion of Westerners from the soil of Japan.

There were men in Japan, however, who foresaw the drift of events, and who recognized the futility of opposition to Western civilization. Such foresight at such a time evidences the wisdom of Japanese statesmanship and affords assurance that it will prove equal in practical conservatism when meeting other conditions that may arise.

But the power of the Shogun was not surrendered without a struggle. Several battles were fought, and when in June, 1869, the Imperial forces won the victory that compelled the theoretical and practical acknowledgment of the Emperor, the authority of the Shogun passed away from the house of Tokugawa, the last representative of the Shogunate.

At this juncture, Japanese humanity, no less than Japanese statesmanship, merits commendation. The victors did not celebrate their victory in the blood of the conquered. Such had been the custom of Orientals, but the defeated Shogun was allowed to return in peace to his home, where his family now resides. Some of his descendants, indeed, are at present officers in the civil and military departments of the Japanese Government.

Another fact that favorably illustrates Japanese character was the loyalty of the feudal chiefs at the restoration of the Emperor. These chiefs set out from their castles with the title deeds of their possessions in their pockets and delivered all into the hand of the Emperor; and this they did, not under compulsion, but of their

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own free will. To these very chiefs the Emperor owed his restoration; it was their strong arms and sharp swords that had rescued him from the power of the Shogun and destroyed that power. But they were moved by a sentiment of loyalty, such as history has seldom had to record, in acting out what they professed, and it would not be just to withhold from Japanese character the confidence which conduct so laudable is fitted to inspire.

Feudalism perished and in 1871 a centralized bureaucracy arose on its ruins. From that date the customs of ancient and mediæval Japan in reality began to yield to Western customs and laws. Social disabilities were removed, post and telegraphs were established, and railroads were built; the Western calendar was introduced, Western dress adopted by the officials, torture abolished, and the persecution of the Christians stopped. Before 1875, steamship companies were incorporated, and in 1878 a Bourse and Chamber of Commerce were inaugurated, and by 1885 a code of laws, modelled after the Code Napoleon, was being published, a Supreme Court of Justice had been instituted, and the English language had been introduced into the curriculum of the common schools.

It is true that opposition manifested itself, even by force of arms, to the introduction of such radical reforms, but the opposition was not sustained by any general public sentiment, and being provincial only, the central government succeeded in subduing it. In February, 1889, the Emperor, a few years previously a prisoner in his palace, had so fully recovered his rights and received so complete an acknowledgment of his authority, that he promulgated a written constitution, providing that thereafter he would share the administration of the Empire with his nobility, and with those gentlemen and commoners whose property qualifications entitled them to vote or be voted for. For an absolute monarchy there was substituted a constitutional monarchy, with a Diet consisting of two houses.

The promulgation, by an Oriental Emperor in the enjoyment of absolute power, of a written constitution in which his power was restricted, was a turning point, not only in the history of Japan, but in that of Asia, and there were as many doubting Thomases in February, 1889, as there can reasonably be expected to be in July, 1899.

Considering that Japan had been entrenched for centuries in

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her national superstitions and customs, and that she had held an exclusive attitude with reference to Western nations, the adaptability of the Japanese mind to the new order created by the Constitution gives ground for the highest hope that the Empire will turn smoothly on the pivot of 1899. The laudable ambition to rank among the civilized nations of the earth, and the success that has attended the effort, argue strongly in favor of a reserve force of national character which, it is believed, will tide the Empire over all difficulties, and secure it in the seat which it has just taken in the parliament of nations.

It has been seen that, when Japan first appeared in authentic history, the form of government was an absolute monarchy, and that during the Middle Ages, although the absolutism of the government was recognized in theory, the administration was practically conducted by successful military chieftains, while at one time a rigorous system of feudalism prevailed.

Great credit is due to a people who emerged from such darkness, threw off the tyrannous restraints upon their rights, and established a Constitutional Monarchy in which the functions of government are apportioned and held in their respective orbits by defined checks and balances.

The Emperor remains the head of the Empire, but, while combining in himself the rights of sovereignty with the whole of the executive power, he acts with the advice and assistance of a Cabinet of Ministers, in addition to a Privy Council whose function it is to deliberate on important matters of state, whenever consulted by the Emperor.

The legislative power is exercised by the Emperor, with the consent of the Imperial Diet, which is composed of a House of Peers and a House of Representatives, and, although the Emperor retains the prerogative of an unqualified veto, every law requires the consent of the Diet. Both Houses have the right to initiate legislation, or present addresses to the Emperor upon any subject. The Emperor opens and prorogues the Diet, appoints and removes his Cabinet Ministers at pleasure; he can declare war, make peace and conclude treaties.

The central administration is divided into the departments of the Imperial Household, Foreign Affairs, the Army, the Navy, the Interior, Finance, Justice, Education, Agriculture and Commerce, and Communications. Each department is presided over by a

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Minister of State, who, with the exception of the Minister of the Imperial Household, is a member of the Cabinet. The names of the departments suggest the matters within the jurisdiction of each, and, taken together, they show a well ordered division of government.

For local administrative purposes, Japan is divided into forty-six districts. Each district is presided over by an officer known as the Governor, and is divided into cities and counties, and each of these has its chief-magistrate to manage local affairs. The principle of decentralization and local self-government is evidenced by a further division of the system of local administration into municipalities, towns, and villages; and there are city and prefectural assemblies, based on the principle of election, with powers to name the estimates of local rates, subject to the confirmation of the Governors and, finally, of the Minister of the Interior.

In the central administration, the Department of Justice has received the attention its important functions demanded, for these relate specially to the tribunals invested with jurisdiction over personal and property rights; and, that nothing may be left in doubt, there is a civil and criminal code in which rights are clearly defined and adequate safeguards and remedies provided. These codes are founded on modern jurisprudence, and the judges who preside over the Courts and interpret the laws are irremovable, except for cause; and, that justice may not be delayed, the number of Courts has been made amply sufficient to quickly determine all litigation.

This brief reference to some of the turning points in the history of Japan, and the general outline of the central and local administrative systems, lead to the inquiry whether, under the constitutional monarchy, the Empire has prospered. To this it may be answered that the Constitution is but the outgrowth of the intelligent progress of the Empire, and that this progress can show a substantial and, for the future, a continuing basis.

The fundamental elements of national strength and wealth are in the resources of a nation, and in the brain and labor of the people to develop them; and, judged by such standards, there need be no hesitation on the part of Japan in pointing to the industrial record of her sons.

The empire comprises an area of 147,500 square miles. It is

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favored with an extensive coast line, indented with many magnificent harbors, and offering every advantage to marine commerce and resources for industry.

The first census was taken in 1872, and showed a population, in round numbers, of 33,000,000. In 1894 the population had increased to 41,000,000, an advance of about twenty-six per cent., somewhat greater than that of Great Britain for the same period.

Rice being the principal cereal of Japanese agriculture, there were, in 1880, 5,404,000 acres under cultivation, and in 1895, 6,497,000. During the same period, the increase of the silk worm and tea growing branches of agricultural industry was 3.7 times in the former and 2.6 in the latter.

In manufacturing industry the progress was decidedly great. In 1883, there were 85 factories with 1,383 horse and water power, and in 1895 there were 2,758 factories, with 54,576 horse and water power.

The industry that developed the internal resources of the Empire on such progressive lines, soon began to give proofs of real strength in foreign commerce. In 1875, the export and import trade of Japan amounted, in the total aggregate, to Yen 47,300,-371, but in 1897 it amounted to Yen 382,425,849; and, while in 1872 the number of steamships registered was 96, with a tonnage of 23,364, there were in 1895, 827 with a tonnage of 213,221, later figures showing a material increase over those given. There are about 3,000 miles of railway open for traffic, and there are telegraph lines that reach every business and strategical point in the Empire.

Furthermore, in the presence of such busy agricultural and manufacturing developments, the true central forces which hold a nation in its place, and sustain the people, have been recognized by the establishment of educational institutions and the encouragement of learning. There are more than 28,000 educational institutions in Japan, attended by more than 3,800,000 students. The primary schools number more than 26,000 with about 3,400,-000 students on their rolls. In 1896, there were 26,367 books published, and, at the end of the same year, there were periodicals published to the number of 783.

A potent arm of justice in Japan is the excellent internal police organization, which guarantees the safety of life and property, and the known superiority of the military system leaves no doubt

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of the ability of the government to quell quickly any possible insurrection or rebellion. The army and navy have both illustrated the quality of Japanese organization and valor, and when an Empire has, within a quarter of a century, turned its back upon Oriental customs and superstitions and written its name so brightly in modern history, it may justly claim the applause and respect of the world when it is about to take a place in the ranks of civilized nations.

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THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

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"We ask but a little portion of the green and ancient earth:
Only to sow and sing and reap in the land of our birth."

THIS refrain in "The Cry of the Little Peoples" echoes the longings of those Jews whom the world has learned to call Zionists. Young as the modern form of the movement is, it has already passed through various stages. At its birth it was received with a smile, and even with a certain amount of scorn. As it rapidly made its way, it was looked at with surprise. At the second Zionist Congress, the surprise turned into respectful attention. What strange forces were awakening among God's ancient folk? What new spirit was being infused into the dead bones? What strange feeling had come over the wandering Jew? We stand in the shadow of the third Zionist Congress at Basle. No nation ought to give an ear to "the Cry of the Little Peoples" more readily than the American. It was itself one of them at a time not so far back as to make it forget its origin, now that it has grown to a place among the greatest. What, then, is the history of the Zionist movement; for what does it stand, and how far is it an expression of the wish of the Jewish people?

I have spoken of the modern form of the movement, for there is an ancient form as well. The Zionist idea, as the expression of the national hope of restoration to the national home of the Jew, dates back to the time of the Babylonian captivity. The prophets and psalmists of the exile are borne up by that hope in their preaching and in their singing. After the end of the second commonwealth, the same hope accompanied the Jew wherever he dragged his weary steps. He prayed for this restoration every

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time he approached the Seat of Mercy. His poets sang of it, his philosophers wrote of it. His whole life, though lived in dingy Ghettoes and pent-up Judenstrasse, was fashioned after the life he had left behind. The Synagogue service was a poor model of the elaborate Temple Ritual. As a possibility, this hope of restoration receded further and further from his sight. But he never let it pass away entirely, even when the walls of the Ghetto tumbled and he was free to come forth. Only at the rarest intervals did he try to bring this hope to an actual fruition. The Reform movement in the Jewish Church, which commenced with Mendelssohn at the end of the last century, has ended in the excision of all mention of Zion and Palestine from the Reform prayer book. There was hope, in the days of Mendelssohn, that the world was rapidly advancing towards the stage when racial differences would be all obliterated, when the brotherhood of man would become a reality, and religious differences rather unite than separate the votaries of various creeds.

The Jews were among the foremost to grasp at the new fruit. It had hardly time to reach their mouths when its sweetness turned into gall. The universalism of Lessing and Goethe and Herder, the work of such men as Mirabeau, the redeeming features of the French blood-bath of 1789, the ideals of the martyrs of 1830 and 1848, soon made way for an individualism which showed itself in increased national feeling in every country of Europe. Jewish hopes were cruelly shattered. I was a student in Germany when the black spirit of the Middle Ages crept out of its grave once more to trouble men. I personally assisted Russian Jews as they fled in hundreds to Germany, in their endeavor to reach a haven of rest in America. I have seen in France, as I came there year after year, the work of a hundred years undone in less than so many months. I saw the Berlin treaty nullified and the rights of citizenship still refused to the Roumanian Jews. But why complete the tale? It has been told over and over again.

The May Laws of Count Ignatieff mark the beginning of the new Zionism. Instinctively, the Jew turned to his old home. Equipped with nothing but hope and an undaunted courage, many journeyed thither. Colonization societies were formed in Russia and Roumania—*Chovei-Zion* (Lovers of Zion) they called themselves for the most part. Similar efforts at colonizing Jews in Palestine had been made in the fifties by Sir Moses Montefiore,

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by Lord Shaftesbury, by Laurence Oliphant and by Dr. Friedman. In 1870, the first real colony (*Mikiveh Israel*) was founded by Charles Netter, under the auspices of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, an organization which has nobly pleaded the cause of the Jews wherever they were unable to do it themselves, and whose leaders were such men as Adolph Cremiaux and Albert Cohn. This, however, was a purely agricultural school. Here colonies soon grouped themselves near to it and spread out in other parts of the land. There are now as many as sixteen mother colonies, with other settlements attached which may bring up their number to twenty-five; around Jerusalem, near Haifa and Jaffa, in Galilee and now even beyond the Jordan. Their success is due to the splendid interest taken in them by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who has spared neither expense nor trouble to help them through the experimental stage in which they were bound to remain for some years. Wine of various kinds is produced in the colonies, cognac, scent and soap. As soon as a proper market is found for these products, the colonies will all be self-supporting. In the year 1897, the first attempt was made to colonize also in the Island of Cyprus. For various reasons this island offers many advantages as a stepping stone to the coast of Palestine.

When the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, visited the holy places in Palestine in the twelfth century, he could find there no more than a few hundred of his people. Now there are about sixty thousand Jews in Palestine. Schools have been founded there by the *Alliance*, there is a high-school in the City of Jaffa, and a national Hebrew library in Jerusalem. This Abarbanel Library, as it is called, has been founded almost wholly through the exertions of Dr. Casanowitz of Bialoistock (Russia), who spent all his own fortune in so doing, and often takes his fees in books, which he then forwards to Jerusalem.

This indiscriminate colonization, and what was worse, the massing of poverty-stricken Jews in Jerusalem, had been going on for some years when, in 1896, a pamphlet called "*Der Juden Staat*" appeared in Vienna. The writer of it, Dr. Theodore Herzl, was a brilliant member of the editorial staff of the "*Neue Freie Presse*" of Vienna. He was by no means the first to preach the ideas for which he now stands. In Russia men like Binsher,

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in Germany men like Ruelf, had done this before his time. But it is his merit to have definitely laid down the lines upon which any movement of this kind must run. His merit is even greater than this. As a refuge from Anti-Semitism merely, Zionism would have only a negative value. Herzl has supplied the ideal, or rather has formulated it in a definite manner: the ideal of a certain home and of a renewed life in common for the Jews. At the inspiration of his word and through his unflagging energy, assisted by such men as Max Nordau, what was but the individual effort of a few societies has become a goal towards which the Jewish people may walk. He has brought the question before the forum of European thought and to the ears of those who have in their hands the making of history. Before the first Congress at Basle in 1897, there were in various parts of the world one hundred and seventeen societies whose aims were more or less Zionistic. At the second Basle Congress in 1898, their number had risen to more than eight hundred. Before 1897, there were merely a handful of societies in the United States. The American Federation of Zionists now counts as many as one hundred and twenty-five societies; and there are quite a number of other Zionist societies not yet affiliated with the Federation.

The success of the Zionist movement presupposes the presence of such an ideal. The immense benefactions of the late Baron de Hirsch in the Argentine Republic can never, for the want of this ideal, prove of lasting value to the Jewish nation. They can only make a temporary asylum for a small portion of the race. Up to within a short time, the Jewish Colonization Society, the disburser of Baron de Hirsch's money, has given nearly all its attention, as far as affects colonization, to every other land but Palestine. Happily, a change has come over the leaders of that society, and now with an open hand and with an open mind, they aid and assist the work in Cyprus and in Palestine.

No such means are at the call of the Zionists. It has been a subject of reproach to us that in our ranks the great financiers, the men of great fortunes, are seldom to be found. The reproach touches them, not us. And in the end it matters little. Our strength lies in an idea: and in the long run ideas shape themselves out into history. At the last Congress it was resolved to found a company, which, working side by side with the Congress, should enable it to carry out whatever ideas it should

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from time to time adopt. During the present year, the Jewish Colonial Trust was brought into existence under the English Banking Laws and with its chief office in London. The necessary working capital has already been subscribed—largely by the Jewish Proletariate. From every place into which jewry is dispersed, the money has come, a free-will offering to the great work we have in view.

Nearly all the older *Chovei-Zion* societies have joined the movement of which the Basle Congress is the exponent. Some, however, have not. A large society in Lemberg, the English Zionist tents, and a few societies in Germany, still believe that simple colonization in Palestine is the only thing for which the Jews should strive. In this they show little insight into the changed economic conditions under which we now live. To make of the Jewish people simply an agricultural people, would be an attempt to turn back the hands of the clock; and to bring a large number of Jews into Palestine without at the same time assuring the stability of the new settlements, is to run a risk which the tremendous interests at stake do not permit. Yet, there are lines upon which the smaller force can work with no detriment to the greater, but rather as a help in bringing about the end which both have in view.

The Zionist movement looks into the future calmly and with assurance. A part of the great problem it has solved. It has come not purely as a religious movement, not purely as an economic one. It has found the basis upon which a higher religious life, as well as a higher economic life, can be built up for the Jew. For, starting with the economic question, it provides a ground upon which all shades of Jewish belief can stand. It were idle to deny the fact that such shades exist. Uniformity would mean death. It provides also a place for the large mass of the unchurched Jews, who remain Jews though they know not why. Jews the world over form one body, held together by a community of interests from within and by a common pressure from without. Were these interests purely spiritual and purely theological, the Jewish Church, as such, might come into existence and take its place side by side with the Protestant and Catholic Churches. But where Church lines run in the same deep grooves as do the social lines, and where intermarriage is undesired by both sides, a Jewish Church, as a church alone, is impossible.

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Thus the first work of Zionism has been to find a common ground upon which a new Jewish nation can be built up. It has been signally successful in this. The Zionist Congresses at Basle have had all the signs of national assemblies. For the first time in two thousand years, the Jews scattered in the four corners of the globe have felt that, as such, they are part of a great body. For the first time they have been asked to do something for the Jewish people; to give up something for measures which do not concern their own little section, their own little state.

But not only as a solution of the Jewish Question, not only as a philanthropic plan, Zionism offers medicine and healing for the wounds from which Judaism is to-day suffering. Emancipation always works a certain amount of harm, together with the good it does. In the days of the Second Temple, the sanhedrin was the expression of the unity of Israel: at a later period this was passed on to the schools of Babylon. When the Jews entered Europe and settled in the various countries, this outer unity almost suffered shipwreck. During the long night which then set in, unity of thought, unity of practice, unity of suffering, unity of hope, held the Jews together by a strong though invisible bond. Emancipation broke this bond. Unity of practice, unity of thought, and, at times, unity of suffering were gone. Jews merged into the life in which they happened to be placed. They could not do otherwise. All attempts to bring back the original unity have failed. Various unions have been formed in Germany and America; synods have been held. All to no purpose! Religious views have gone too far apart and these unions were purely religious in character. The nearest approach to a restored unity was the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* in Paris. But not only was this distinctively French in its character; it was largely charitable and educational. Zionism alone has been able to restore the old unity. It has written boldly in its programme that the Jews are bound together, though they often do not know it, by the ties of race, by the ties of a common past, by the ties of a common opposition to what they consider religious error, by the ties of a common hope.

Why, then, has the whole Jewish world not become Zionistic? Has the woeful misery in which five or six millions of their brethren in Eastern Europe live, no power to stir the blood of every one who bears the name Jew? Has this appeal made by

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the Zionists not awakened a responsive chord in their heart? In any ordinary circumstances, it is of course difficult to move a large and a scattered community. In the case of the Jews the difficulty has been increased by the cross-purposes at which the various sections among them have been working. The Reform wing of my church still believes, or affects to believe, that Anti-Semitism is but a passing indisposition, even though that indisposition has lasted for some twenty centuries. Like the plague, it makes its appearance whenever the conditions are favorable—that is, whenever the Jews flourish and are likely to become a power. In Russia and Roumania it is governmental, in Austria and France political, in America social. It is the same disease, though in varied forms. In this very year we have seen outbreaks in Nicolaieff (Russia), in Machod (Bohemia), in Jassy (Roumania). In Vienna the society for combating Anti-Semitism, a society made up of non-Jews, has practically laid down its arms, acknowledging its inability to do anything. In France, will even the rehabilitation of Dreyfus undo the work of the "*Libre Parole*" and "*L'Anti-Juif?*" And yet the Reform Jewish Church still believes that in the advancement of science, in the progress of thought, a brotherhood and a love will be produced which will triumph over all social and economic conditions. Under certain circumstances this might seem but another evidence of Jewish optimism. Yet, in the meanwhile, the denizens of the Eastern European slums must quietly abide their fate. The optimists have not yet offered to share it with them; they simply deal with such words as "humanity," "the brotherhood of man," "human fellowship," as if they were so many magician's wands with which to conjure up better times. The more religiously inclined among them have adopted the shibboleth of the "Mission of Israel:" which they understand in the sense that a suffering Israel must exist, scattered among the nations of the world, in order to preach true righteousness and to advance the Kingdom of Heaven. A perversion of Scripture, which they attempt to read into Scripture! A perversion of ideas, for they themselves are not suffering! Suffering Israel is thoroughly Zionistic.

The other great wing of the Jewish Church, the Orthodox, pray *ex cathedra* a certain number of times each day for the return to Palestine. The Zionist body finds the largest number of its recruits within the Orthodox camp, for it has remained in

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closer contact with its people and with its past. Every orthodox Jew is by nature a Zionist.

To many of the unchurched Jews Zionism is a rude awakening. They happened merely to be Jews. They cherished the hope that they could slip out of Judaism in the second or third generation with none the wiser. Zionism comes to them with the request to declare their intentions openly; to be within the circle or outside of it. Many have answered the appeal and have found their way out of an equivocal position. Those who have not are lost to the Jewish cause.

For this reconstructed nation or people a home must be found. It is as idle to suppose that the nations of the world will look with respect upon the people who are at the whim and the mercy of every demagogue who raises his voice above the crowd, as it is for us to feel for a man without a country. The issue is plain. As long as the Jews refuse the essential condition of "assimilation," intermarriage, and that on a large scale, they will remain practically defenceless against all such attacks; which, while they remain within the strict bounds of the law, are no less destructive to the peace and well-being of a community. If once such a home be found, the Jewish nation will take its place among the nations of the world. Its voice will demand a hearing; and, being in its own land, competition with other nations will run in natural lines. A centre will be established to which all Jews, wherever they may be placed, will turn; getting therefrom not only actual help but that spiritual force, ennobling and enlarging, which the true pride of race and of nationality carries with it. The Jew must cease to be an anomaly.

The Palestine of the Zionist dream is not the Palestine which we know from Sunday School books and missionary reports. In the Westward march of Empire, Asia is once more to be brought into the line of the world's thought and commerce. From two sides the sound of the twentieth century has made itself heard in that slumbering continent. Through Japan on the one side and Russia on the other, influences have been sown which are bound to bear fruit before many decades have passed away. The partition of China will bring the active commercial rivalry of Europe into that bee-hive of humanity. The trans-Siberian railway and the threatened absorption by Russia of Armenia and Persia, will rapidly drive away the sleepy pall which has hung

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over the whole country. When the Euphrates Valley railway shall have been completed, Mesopotamia will awake from its lethargy. When that country once more supports a teeming population, as it did in the times of the old Babylonian and Assyrian Kings, the hour for a new Palestine will have struck. The nearest outlet for Asia Europewards, is the border land of the Mediterranean Sea. That inland ocean will once again be covered with merchantmen, as it was in the days of the Italian Republics. In that up-building work, the Jewish people in Palestine will find an occasion to use those powers which have been generated in their midst during the long centuries of exile. Already the puff of the locomotive is heard in the Judean valleys and Assyrian hills. Joined once more to the soil from which they were so violently snatched, the Jewish husbandmen will till the fruitful places. As the waste country is built up again, greater needs will make themselves felt; factories will take the place of the old feudal ruins; an active commerce will make of the Jews not only producers but also mediators between the East and the West; but not mediators as in the Middle Ages, foot-sore and wandering, forced beggars for the world's grace; rather open sharers in the work of building up a new century which shall be a fitting follower of the nineteenth.

It is idle to speculate as to the form which such a commonwealth will take on. Time will work that out in a manner befitting its own needs. The world cannot go backward, but must ever move on to greater perfection. Is it too much for those who have Judaism as a religion at heart to hope that then the Jewish church will become a reality? Free from the *onus* of conditions through which it cannot break, at liberty to develop upon its own lines, it can show what seed is in it. It will be able to answer its own questions in its own way; to throw off what is useless and what is the product only of the cramped life of the Ghetto, and to realize the "beauty of holiness."

Is this nothing but a dream? How great a call is here made upon the resources, physical and spiritual, of my people! I cannot but feel that the power which could withstand the onslaughts of the Middle Ages and the blandishments of the nineteenth century, will be equal to the task. Only "Israel must choose, in order that God may again choose them." A free choosing coupled with the grand ideal! Will the people who walk in darkness see

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the new lights? If they do not, they are all unworthy of the heritage which is theirs; undeserving the rich past of patriarchs, prophets and priests; of heroes, martyrs and teachers; of the sobs of children and the hot tears of mothers; of the blood of those who died that their faith might be transmitted to posterity

But not alone! Ten millions of Jews, even though every one were inspired, are but a drop in the bucket of the world's working force. Turkey, the Suzerain of Palestine and Syria, must come to see the value of gaining the affection and the loyal support of such a people, tried in the world's cruelest crucible, bringing the ripe experience of past ages with them, putting new life into the soil and using all the glorious conquests of machinery and electricity over the dumb forces of nature; giving fullness in place of want, life in place of death.

And the Christian Powers of Europe? Without their aid, too, the Zionist ideal cannot be realized. It is said that the Christian sentiment of Europe and America will never permit that the Holy Places in the Holy Land should be in the possession of the Holy People. The suggestion is almost a libel on all that is best and truest in modern Christianity. Will the Church, by a new Crusade, perpetuate the wrong, which is now centuries old? Will it not rather right that wrong by active aid, in making it possible for the Jews to take up their history again in the land of their birth at the point where they let it go? Self-interest, too, dictates a policy on lines similar to such an ideal. No matter what its genesis, no matter what its cause, the Jewish question is of the most serious import to the statesmen of Europe. It can be solved if the Jews will lead the way, either renouncing their traditional hopes and giving the death-blow to their own history, or realizing that Judaism and Zionism in the end are synonymous. If they choose the latter course, what a grand lesson the nations of the daughter faith could give to a twentieth century Peace Congress, in showing a love for the people of the mother faith which is really desirous of Israel's good. Then might the two faiths work together to realize the Kingdom of God on earth, and the triumph of that righteousness for which both faiths pray.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

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ATHLETICS FOR POLITICIANS.

BY THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M.P.

THE prominent men of the United States have not much turn towards gymnastics. They walk, I am told, or rather rush about from one place to another. A very few cycle or ride on horseback. Those who as youths had been given to hill-walking, common in America—an excellent exercise, which is far better than the mountaineering of a limited class of Britons—abandon the pursuit as they grow old. Ex-President Cleveland is a duck-shooter. The President of Columbia College, it is said, rides both a cycle and a horse, and takes some interest in a mild form of boating. But the ordinary American politician has little idea of sport, of athletics, or even of the open air. He belongs rather to the type of the American business-man, than to that of the American leisured-rich. The American man of business cannot find opportunity for much relaxation, and thinks time, indeed, too valuable to waste upon things which do not bring direct return. The American Universities, which are filled with keen sportsmen, have not much connection, through this class of their graduates, with politics.

On the other hand, we hear that there has arisen among the younger business generation a great delight in golf, hundreds of clubs being formed all over the country for men and women of this class. Up to the present time, the politicians have not figured among them; and walking and a little dumb-bell exercise, with the cycling and horse exercise of the very few, are all apparently that can be laid to their account. I am perhaps, therefore, a missionary as far as the United States Senator and Representative are concerned.

On our side of the water the state of things is very different. Mr. Gladstone, who had been a sculler in his early youth at

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Eton, took to riding when he took to politics; and, after having been a regular horseman through a great portion of his life, became in old age a competent woodman and one of the most remarkable walkers that ever lived. The present leader of the House of Commons, although probably by nature far from a strong man, is a good golfer and a fair cyclist, greatly given to both pursuits, and spending upon them an amount of time which is returned him in obviously excellent effect upon his health and strength and Parliamentary power. The Chancellor of the Exchequer rides. The Lord Chancellor was a skilled fencer, and is now one of the most regular of walkers. The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is a regular rider; the Attorney-General a cyclist, though not the athlete that he was when the Cambridge two-mile running champion. The Solicitor-General, the Lord Advocate, and many others golf. Upon the other side of the House, Mr. Asquith is a regular golf player. Sir Edward Grey is even greater at true tennis, where he is the equal of the professionals, than in the salmon and trout fishing which he has illustrated by a remarkable book. The chief Liberal Whip, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, is a cricketer, cyclist and golfer, and, like Mr. John Burns, an all-round athlete; and while the late Attorney-General, Sir Robert Reid, who was one of our greatest cricketers, is retiring from that business under the pressure of the law, many of his brother lawyers upon the Liberal side, like Mr. Lawson Walton, are regular riders. Mr. John Morley is now regarded as the least athletic of the Liberal leaders, but even he was in his school football team. In jotting down the names of those who have occurred to me, I have omitted dozens of leading politicians who are known in various branches of sport. Generally speaking, it may be said that our politicians are mostly the sons of country fathers, and largely men who have graduated at the old Universities after having been at public schools. As boys they have ridden, shot, and played cricket; and at the Universities they have rowed, and played cricket and football. But the point is that nearly all of these, having been athletes as boys, have found it wise, as well as pleasant, to keep to some sport in later life, and probably a majority of our House of Commons shoot, or hunt in our sense—that is fox-hunt; while, as I fear, the overwhelming majority of American politicians attend to nothing except politics.

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It is, of course, difficult to reform in these matters in old or even in middle age. Men who have had no athletic sport in early life take to such forms of exercise, or even to exercise of any kind, with difficulty. The result is that those who have a tendency to flesh grow fat, and die younger than would otherwise be the case; while the men of spare habit often suffer from nerve excitement, which would probably be lessened in many cases by out-door exercise. All should, then, keep up, as late as possible in life (and that is very late where the exercise is steadily pursued), any exercise that they have learned when young; and we should consider whether there are any forms of exercise which can easily be acquired in middle life.

With regard to keeping up athletics, the possibilities are great. The old are under this disadvantage: that they cannot take up with success the new sports. Some men in England, no doubt, have learned the art of cycling in middle or advanced years. But the elderly man is at a great disadvantage in picking up new tricks, though at little disadvantage, as compared with the young, in many forms of sport where the sport has been practised for long years. There is every reason why we should rather keep up the old forms of exercise than attempt to acquire new ones. The fashion in exercise changes from day to day. A quarter of a century ago, match-croquet, on full-sized grounds—40 yards by 30—with $3\frac{3}{4}$ inch steel-braced hoops, just allowing the balls to pass, which had been a fashionable and a fair exercise in its way, went out. It gave place to lawn tennis, which now in turn is going somewhat out of fashion, and match-croquet is being revived, but revived in competition with a mild form of hockey, as played by mixed clubs of ladies and gentlemen, which has recently become popular as an English sport, after having been for many years almost confined to Scotland. The old cannot follow these fashionable changes, and must adhere to the exercises of their youth, in order to continue to possess that excellence which gives pleasure.

There are some, no doubt, who in these matters are afraid of ridicule; and this may affect the minds of Americans, who, we are told, are more sensitive to ridicule than we are; and it may affect them all the more because in the United States exercise among politicians is an eccentricity. In my own country the ridicule is faced. When an undergraduate, rowing in my College boat, I remember having a feeling of scorn for an old clergyman whom I

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saw rowing for a day, and rowing very well, in a rival college eight. Now I am able to smile contentedly, when remarks similar to those which I made on the white-headed clergyman are made about myself by those ignorant of the carrying power of the voice across water, and to feel that, as far as British politicians are concerned, I am in good company.

A man who has never taken violent exercise, or who, having taken it in his youth, has intermitted all such exercise for a long time, must of course be warned, as any medical man will warn him, against taking suddenly to violent exercise late in life. The test of the skilled ear applied to the region of the heart, coupled with a man's own feelings, is, however, a sufficient test of safety. But the opinion of one physician, and particularly of one specialist, should not be implicitly followed, because some doctors regard as "enlarged heart" a heart of a size and character which is only natural in the middle-aged; and two opinions on this matter are better than one. Violence in exercise having been reached progressively in middle age, the heart should be tested while excited, and while the man displays by quick breathing every symptom of being "blown." This test, if applied by a trained medical man without prejudices, is a complete one. Although exercise takes time, it saves life to those politicians who will under favorable circumstances continue or attempt it.

There are men of spare habit who believe that they are better without exercise. The most distinguished debater in the Government of the United Kingdom, who has an excellent seat on a horse, but is never now seen on one, and who is no mean hand at lawn tennis, which he scarcely ever plays, is believed to hold this view. The great majority, however, of British politicians differ from him; and, making allowance for individual peculiarities of constitution, I am convinced that they are right. Even American politicians, although not as a rule, like British politicians, men of full habit who have been athletes in youth, must many of them have been in youth men of the open air, and it is not safe for them, and it is not safe for our Colonial politicians, who nearly all are big men of fleshy habit and sanguine constitution, to abandon exercise when they enter the Legislature. I proceed, then, to assume that, for most politicians, athletics, if possible, are good, and to examine the different kinds of sport in which it is possible for them to engage.

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In the United States you are, I believe, more given than we are to pure gymnastics, though less addicted to them than are the Germans. Those who in youth have had the courage needed by these forms of sport—for it needs real courage to carry on such athletics as do not lend themselves easily and daily either to competition in games or to use in varied scenery—can continue in middle age some forms of the athletics that they have learned. The use of dumb-bells and of clubs alone as a rule survives in age; and the chest-expanding rubber machine known, I believe, in America as "the Exerciser," comes into use to replace the bars, the mast and the trapeze. I am convinced, and I have tried both, that the services of a drill sergeant, who has been in the habit of teaching what are known as "extension movements" to children, will in a few days render the busy man independent of apparatus.

As far as simple posture-gymnastics go, the advantage of doing without weights is great. Every muscle in the body can be perfectly trained, developed, and kept up by extension exercises, and about fourteen or fifteen of the best should be selected by the intelligent learner for himself from among the thirty or forty which a good drill sergeant teaches, and adhered to steadily day by day. The beginner, especially if of mature years, will be amazed at the extraordinary stiffness which, even in a strong man, some of the simplest of such exercises at first produce. I am an enthusiast for posture-gymnastics without apparatus, as I am for the reasonable hill-walking, which is also, as I have said, peculiarly an American delight.

The drawback to posture-gymnastics is their incredible and wearisome dullness. Games have an enormous advantage over them for all but very persevering men. The ball games of the United States are suitable, I fear, mainly to the young, and the same may be said of light-boat rowing, unless a perfect mastery of the art has been acquired early in life.

The pastime of rowing has been immensely improved, when considered as a gymnastic pursuit for the development of the body and its maintenance at a high standard, by the proper use of the sliding seat. In the old days, when I first learned to row, the strain of rowing on the fixed seats then always used—sitting against rather than upon them—was terrible, and it was impossible to race adequately without considerable risk of cramp. Upon the sliding seat, the skilled oarsman, who really knows how to

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take the fullest advantage of the slide, finds an easing-off of the work which prevents downright strain, however great may be the positive exertion. But the delight of rowing or sculling with the perfect use of the slide, and with the bringing of great numbers of the various muscles of the body into play, which constitutes the charm of "best-boat" sculling or light-boat rowing, is not for any save those who have taken to rowing before they are twenty years of age. I have never rowed upon your American tank machines, which owing to the mildness of our winters are unnecessary here. They appear to have produced in your best crews a greater uniformity of style than we can pretend to; and I look forward regretfully to the day when we shall succumb to oarsmen from across the seas, as in professional sculling we have already lowered our flag to the Americans of the United States, the Canadians, and our colonists of Australia.

In keeping up rowing, after youthful competence, into middle age, it is probable that American oarsmen will find for themselves, as I have found, the advantage of constantly increasing the size of the oar, and, with a view to balance, the spread of the out-rigger. Muscular strength in those who pursue exercises does not fall off in middle age, but rather increases. What goes is "wind," and the power of sustained exertion at a high rate of speed. The big oar allows the strength to tell and equal pace to be obtained at a lower rate of movement. The best big oars in the world are from the United States, whence I import my own; stiff, strong and light. We are beginning to imitate them here.

Boat sailing, although more an American and Australian pursuit, proportionately speaking, than a British sport, is common to both our countries, and I turn now to other exercises not specially American or specially British, but which should be considered.

Cycling is a sport on which my observations must be taken with a grain of salt. I have long been connected with a large cycling club; for the pursuit prevailed among clerks in England before, a few years ago, it extended to "Society" on the one hand and to the workmen on the other. But I cannot cycle. I have never tried. There can be no greater mistake for the middle-aged and the old, who already practise gymnastics in which they are competent, than to attempt to acquire new ones, which, if they give sufficient time already to their old forms of sport, they cannot do without jeopardizing that excellence which is essential to in-

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terest and amusement. That cycling has spread so widely would seem, at first sight, to prove that it must be excellent; but some deductions should be made from this conclusion. It spread very slowly, until it suddenly became fashionable, except among those to whom it was useful, not as an exercise, but as a positive means of locomotion. Cycling prevailed in France, in virtually its present form, for a great number of years before it spread either to great numbers of persons in France or to other countries. It became fashionable, I think, because of the sudden improvement in machines. Considered as gymnastics, cycling makes people work and causes the blood to circulate; but, as it seems to me, in such a manner as not perfectly to exercise the whole body. Many cyclists lean forward on their machines, and I cannot myself believe that this treatment of the chest is advantageous. Cycling, however, is not only widespread, and, on the whole, cheap and easily practised in a country of good roads, but it is an exercise which undoubtedly has in many cases been competently pursued by the middle-aged, and among them by middle-aged politicians who had not learned when they were young.

Golf is another exercise, much favored in both our countries, which is capable of being acquired in middle age, but also one as to which I cannot speak from personal acquaintance. Its enormous advantage appears to me to be that it is a sport in which it is possible to handicap fairly all except the very worst class of players. It is impossible to overestimate the gain to an exercise from this possibility. In running, swimming, cycling, lawn tennis and some other sports, handicapping is possible. In others it is, indeed, difficult to apply. Golf permits of a fair handicapping, which is essential to competition among those of various ranks in the art.

All that I have said of the dullness of posture-gymnastics, and of the advantage, especially in middle and old age, of some element of sport which renders athletics amusing, and gives to the pursuit of them the illusion of youthfulness, illustrates the importance of selecting games in which the superior and the inferior players can meet upon something like fair terms; and of these two great sports, cycling and golf (neither of which I practise), I must unhesitatingly give the palm to golf, on the ground of the advantage which I have attempted to describe.

There is one fashionable amusement of recent times which is

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common to both our countries, but which is hardly worth naming in an article on athletics for politicians. Skating on in-door ice is the delight of some young men and of many ladies of youthful or of doubtful age; but it is not, I think, to be recommended to mature politicians, and there is a consideration applying to it, and to at least two other forms of exercise, which involves the confession that, as one grows older, one dislikes being hurt. Why at eighteen a man should rather like to receive a violent blow on the nose, and why at fifty he should regard such an occurrence with unutterable disgust, it is somewhat hard to say. It is not a question, I think, of courage. My impression is that, as a rule, the courage of resolution greatly increases with age. Certainly, in my own case, I was much more of a coward when a boy than I am now; and believe that this is a common, if not a general or a universal, experience. But as a boy, while I liked to hit my companions terrific blows upon the leg or the funny bone of the arm with a single-stick, I did not at all mind being myself hit in the same way. I do now. Boxing must be ruled out as an exercise for the middle-aged and the old—although it is a grand pastime—because of this disinclination to be hurt. No middle-aged man who has received from his teacher or his friend a "double knock" upon "the mark," will deny this statement. Single-stick may be carried on in pads, but I do not myself believe in any exercise for which padding is necessary: for padding in non-professionals means indifference and also slowness, although the shin-guard of the professional footballer does not seem to make him slow. The former of these considerations does not apply to cricket, because it is not the body, as a rule, at all events, that is bowled at, but the stumps, and, padding or no padding, the stumps go down. I return to in-door ice. I fear that, lying as it does on concrete which cannot "give," indoor ice is even harder to fall upon than is outdoor ice, and that is saying a good deal. Boys and girls can be tumbled about on ice without as a rule being maimed for life; but this is not the case with the old gentleman. Racquets and the various forms of tennis are not very suitable to middle life. Punting, now a most popular British exercise, can be kept up, on suitable waters (which are not everywhere to be found), by those who have learnt it young. Canoeing is not, in my opinion, an exercise to be recommended. The "Rob Roy" canoe, formerly popular in England, and the Canadian canoe of recent days, both possess the

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advantage of introducing the canoeist in an agreeable way to some forms of scenery which can hardly otherwise be visited. But the position in each case is a somewhat cramped one, and the exercise develops the arm at the expense of the chest and leg. Running, swimming, and American baseball I omit as unsuitable for the old, but billiards should be mentioned, as many an old gentleman walks four or five miles quietly at this game after his dinner, with good results. Baseball, I understand, can be kept up into middle-life, though not, of course, in first-class company. The chief drawback to billiards, as an exercise for the old, is the unfortunate atmosphere which is too often artificially created in billiard rooms. The game needs the eye of a cricketer and the hand of a violinist: what wonder if the old gentleman is beaten by his son!

I pass briefly over such British sports as fox-hunting, both because it is unlikely to be useful to recommend it to American politicians, and because jumping is not to be recommended to the old. Jumping means great risk of rupture; and while some fox-hunters continue their sport until late in life, they are the exception and not the rule. Those who have hunted here in youth generally retain the habit of riding, but it is park riding as an easy exercise. Many of our politicians have ridden habitually until they are over eighty years of age, and the eloquent Mr. Gathorne Hardy, now Lord Cranbrook, cuts an admirable figure on his horse at the age of eighty-five. Our shooting is a tamer sport than your "hunting," and means only walking with a weight. Some of our sportsmen shoot in such a manner as to manage to walk without the weight, or even not to walk at all. Deer-stalking is a form of British sport enjoyable only by the very rich or their best friends, which is no doubt admirable, but not easily capable of imitation. Cricket is a peculiarly British sport, although not unknown in the United States. Its weak point as an exercise is that it is a game for only one season of the year. Cricket can be kept up in late middle-age, as we know by the case of Dr. Grace. But Dr. Grace is an exceptional man; and all-round cricket, involving fielding in all forms, is not a sport which can often be kept up into old age, far less one which can be acquired by the middle-aged.

There is one exercise which, though French, Italian and Magyar, is worthy of consideration by Britons and by the people, and even the politicians, of the United States.

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Fencing has recently come into fashion in England among a limited class as a pure sport, without that unfortunate connection with the duel which it formerly had in England and Scotland, Spain and France, and still has in France, Italy and Hungary. It is difficult to say why fencing has not spread more as a mere form of gymnastics. It has immense advantages. It is a sport into which the element of competition enters largely. It is a quick exercise, if I may be allowed this convenient expression: it thoroughly warms the body and produces in a few minutes the feeling of lightness which is essential in a good exercise. In its rapidity in producing this result it rivals boxing, without the element of pain, and sawing without the element of dullness. Fencing, like boxing, can be practised all the year round, and is, therefore, at an advantage as compared with such games as are not possible in wet or cold or windy weather—a great point in the case of any recreation to be pursued regularly for the double purpose of health and amusement. Fencing is a cheap exercise. It is true that when a boy goes to a fencing school to learn, his unfortunate parents are made on the first day to invest not only in the useful mask, but also in the unnecessary padded jacket, in the foolish glove (instantly burst and spoilt), and in special shoes which are not only unnecessary but harmful. What is needed for fencing, besides a good mask provided with a leather beard to save the throat, is the ordinary riding glove and the thinnest, and therefore cheapest, pair of rubber shoes that can be bought. For fencing upon planks or smooth pavement the thin rubber shoe, fitting tightly to the foot, has an immense advantage over the ordinary fencing shoe of leather; and for fencing upon gravel, or loose cinder-path, or brick rubbish, ordinary boots—if the heels are not too high—are excellent. A pair of foils will with care last a long time, especially if too great proximity of the fencers to each other is discouraged, and the pupils are prevented from practising the dangerous folly of drawing back the hand until it is close to or in a line with the lunger's body. Rapier fencing is more costly, because it is impossible, in fencing with spirit, to avoid a certain percentage of breakage in the blades, and good rapier blades are extraordinarily difficult to procure. Fencing is an exercise which, if skill is attained even in middle life, can be kept up to a great age, and there are many good fencers in France who are old men.

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The most serious difficulty about fencing is the absence of competent teachers. We have now one Englishman who is a really good teacher, but this is a novel phenomenon. The ordinary drill-master is so slow of hand that, while he knows all the movements and the names for them, and has a sort of grammatical knowledge of the art, he is unable to impart the sacred fire. France alone, as yet, has produced teachers of fencing who are able to teach the more classical side of this art. There is in fencing *"haute-école,"* as there is in Viennese and was in Parisian riding, and classical fencing is an art which rivals the best dancing in grace, but is infinitely more difficult of attainment. It is not fencing of this kind, taught only by a limited number of French masters, that I recommend. Perfection or even competence in it can only be acquired at the expense of years of drill under a good master, a training which is costly and dull.

Some may wonder that I have passed over the Italian school of fencing. But I have not done so; I am coming to it. I have passed it over only as far as *haute-école* is concerned. As I myself, though self-taught, belong to what is called by some a form of the Italian school, I may be allowed to say that to compare our art to the highest art of France is like comparing a good dray horse to a thoroughbred. The modern rapier fencer, while possessing an excellent gymnastic, is neither classical nor beauteous.

The origin of the latest developments of rapier fencing was the duel. French barristers and politicians rose in revolt against the superstition which condemned them to be run through the body, because the responsible editor of some libel was alleged to be some gentleman who had been a master of the foil through life. These able and practical men said to one another, "These people practise with a foil which has no guard for the hand; they count only by a pure convention touches of the body, neglecting the head and leg, and above all the arm. What if we learn to fence with heavy rapiers, with a large guard for the hand, exactly the same as those with which we have to fight?" They practised, and they found to their amazement that, after a few lessons, they began to develop a style in which any man with a strong arm and with courage could more than hold his own against the graceful foil fencer, who was no sooner placed in front of them than he forthwith touched his own hand or arm upon their all-but motionless points.

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So far, so good; but then came the institution of rapier schools, often conducted in the open air under duelling conditions, and the discovery that a style which was useful against a foil fencer of the graceful *haute-école* was of no effective use between two rapier fencers. Of protective use it might be. They stood looking at one another; neither could do anything at all, and the result was the gradual development of a new school of fencing.

There appeared in 1887 a book of rapier lessons, bearing the name of Jacob, a well-known rapier teacher, with excellent prefaces by Messrs. Ranc, the Senator and Historian, de Cassagnac, the well-known politician, and other rapier fencers. Jacob's method was based, as has all along been that of M. de Cassagnac, on the essential difference between rapier and foil fencing; but neither the teacher nor the amateur ever went so far as to forbid the bending of the arm. On the contrary, although the guard was to be a lower one than for the foils, and the rapier was to remain in a horizontal position, yet it was distinctly specified that the arm should be bent for the purpose of being able to make proper parries and to give lung power either in attack or in *riposte*. Jacob and his friends went further, and maintained that it was easier to escape touch on the arm if it were bent than if it were straight.

Tavernier, both in the first edition of his book on the art of duelling, in 1884, and in the later editions, agrees with this proposition, and, although he attacks the classical school as unfit for rapier work, he directly opposes the teaching which is now beginning to prevail. Says Tavernier:

"Some amateurs are in the habit of fencing with the arm always straight at full length. I have even heard that a French fencing master teaches this method, which comes from the Italian school. Practice has shown that the system offers little advantage and great drawback, and I am unable to understand the partial success which welcomed this extremely irregular mode of fencing. Of course, it is true that the first time that the fencer finds in his face this spit, always stuck out, he is upset by it, especially if he is a fencer without judgment. On the other hand, as soon as one understands this play one easily masters it. Beats, as well as *froissés* and *croisés*, may be usefully employed against this tension style."

Tavernier also thinks that it is possible to tire out those who resort to this mode of fencing. Moderate as Tavernier was in his censure on classical school work as applied to rapier fencing, he was, nevertheless, attacked by the strongest of the classics.

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There has indeed been a remarkable change in the last few years. It may be safely said that all the best masters of the day have come at least as far as Tavernier, or somewhat further; that the fencing of the high-and-dry classical school is no longer attempted by any rapier fencer; and that the entirely new school which Tavernier himself condemned has grown and strengthened, and is not unlikely to win.

Tavernier thought that the method of Baudry and the new men was Italian. That they have learned something from the Italians is undoubted, but the main characteristic of Italian rapier fencing is its eccentricity; and of all schools of fencing the new French school is the least eccentric. In other words, while the new French rapier fencers adopt from the Italians, or have equally discovered for themselves, the fact that the arm should be stretched at length and the point perpetually kept almost in line, they do not attempt to scare the adversary by any of the methods to which the Italians resort, but very properly hold that all such barbarous devices are useless against well-trained men.

Considered as an exercise, the duelling rapier fencing of France is admirable for the middle-aged and old. It possesses every advantage, and the sole drawback is, as I have said above, the difficulty of finding teachers. If, however, an able man, such as one of your politicians should be, would invest in rapiers from Alsace or from France, with extra screw blades in dozens, and would learn the ordinary movements from any ordinary drill instructor, he and his friends would, I think, very soon be able to develop duelling fencing for themselves, and would find that they could make it for themselves an excellent game, capable of being practised in the open air in summer, and in almost any room in the bad season.

This article would not be complete without some hint as to training. Many middle-aged men take to athletics of some form for the purpose of making themselves thinner. Reduction of fat is easy, but not by means of gymnastics. The object can be attained at once by diminution of the taking of liquids and foods containing water, but either the services of a physician should be called in to watch the process, or the patient must take every possible means of most carefully watching the effect of the process for himself. There is a superfluous weight and a superfluous circumference which can be easily reduced to a certain point.

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But as we grow older the limit of safe reduction is very easily reached, and the moment that is passed danger at once arises. I can reduce my weight two pounds a day steadily, but after I have done it for five or six days I reach the danger point, and I fancy that a few more days would kill or irreparably harm me. Most men, I fear, eat and drink too much in early middle life. We all get ourselves into a state which in our dogs would lead us to say, "I fear the old fellow will have but a short life." We have to deal with facts as we find them, and to take ourselves as we are at the given time. A gradual diminution of liquids is desirable, but the process must not be pushed too far and must be watched with the greatest care. The amount of exercise during a vacation can, of course, be increased day by day even in middle age. The heart's action strengthens, the breathing becomes freer—the fact that there is no overstrain can be tested by constant observation of the heart by a medical man, and if sleep is improved no danger need be feared. I am no advocate of coddling, and I do not even preach against abstention from competitive athletics in late middle age. But we are on the edge of danger, and while competition may be immensely beneficial in preserving that illusion of youth which is essential to all spring in life and to all good work, watchfulness must be constant against excess in the imitation of the athletics of the young.

To politicians I would say (and the remark applies also to professional men) that good exercise, as contrasted with mere chamber gymnastics, gives them the chance of that greatest of delights—a second life, a life in another world, a life of illusion, perhaps, as Ibsen would tell us, but one which takes them entirely out of themselves, and causes them to cease to trouble others or to be troubled by the vexations of working life.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

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THE CENSORSHIP OF THE STAGE IN ENGLAND.

BY G. BERNARD SHAW.

In England, no play may be publicly performed until a certificate has been procured from the Lord Chamberlain that it "does not in its general tendency contain anything immoral or otherwise improper for the stage." The Lord Chamberlain, who must be distinguished from the hereditary Great Chamberlains of England, is not a democratic official. He has nothing to do with the great offices by which the British Empire is administered—such as the Home Office, the Colonial Office, the India Office, staffed by bureaucrats elected by competitive examination to posts which they hold irremovably, through all changes of government, under the command of the Secretary of State for their department, a cabinet minister resigning whenever his party, defeated in the House of Commons, goes out of office. He is only a member of the Queen's household retinue—the Malvolio of St. James' Palace—responsible to nobody but the Queen, and therefore really not responsible at all, because the Queen's interference with the fantastic agglomeration of little dignities and functions which serve as excuses for the perquisites of her retinue, does not spread far beyond her presence and her residence (which is not St. James' Palace), and is politically and conventionally limited even there.

The Lord Chamberlain does not condescend to read plays himself; and the Examiner of Plays, who does it for him, is perhaps the obscurest unit in the imposing procession of Pages of the Back Stairs, Pages of the Chambers, Pages of the Presence, Masters of the Music, Keepers of the Jewels, Keepers of the Swans, Gentleman Usher Daily Waiters, Gentlemen Usher Quarterly Waiters, Bargemasters, Grooms of the Privy Chamber, Gen-

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tlemen Ushers of Privy Chamber, and all the other breath-bereaving retainers of whom only one, the Poet Laureate, has succeeded in imposing the fact of his existence on the consciousness of the British public. The Lord Chamberlain himself, with all this pageantry to superintend, has no time to keep any check on his subordinate, even if he could pretend to know anything more than he about dramatic criticism and the foundations of morality. The result is that the Examiner of Plays, humble, untitled, "middle-class" though he be, is yet the most powerful man in England or America. Other people may make England's laws; he makes and unmakes its drama, and therefore also the drama of America; for no American dramatic author can afford to defy a despot who can, by a nod, cut him off from an English stageright worth possibly $20,000 in London alone. The monarchy is limited; the Cabinet, with tears of rage, cannot assert itself even against Anti-Vaccinators; the House of Lords, nominally omnipotent, puts down its foot only to emphasize the humiliation of having to take it up again; but the Examiner of Plays, greater than all these, does what he likes, caring not a dump for nations or constitutions, English or American. The President of the United States himself practically cannot see a new play with first getting the Examiner's leave.

It will be inferred that no pains are spared to secure the services of a very highly qualified and distinguished person to wield this astonishing power—say the holder of a University chair of Literature or Dramaturgy. The inference is erroneous. You are not allowed to sell stamps in an English post office without previously passing an examination; but you may become Examiner of Plays without necessarily knowing how to read or write. The post is held at present by one George Alexander Redford, said to have been a bank clerk, but not ascertained to have been anything except lucky enough to obtain a place at court with a salary of some fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars a year, and powers to exact from every author or manager producing a new play five dollars and a quarter for each one-act piece, and ten dollars and a half for each piece of two or more acts.

The resultant income must not be estimated merely by the number of English plays whose fame reaches the United States. In England the law of dramatic copyright, or stageright, is mere madness and confusion. Not long ago a popular novelist an-

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nounced for performance a stage version of one of his books. He was promptly warned that his version was an infringement of the stageright of a version already made by a sharp country solicitor, and duly licensed by the Examiner of Plays and performed. The author had actually to buy back the stageright of his own story from the pirate who had stolen a march on him. In such a state of affairs, every prudent novelist whose book contains valuable dramatic material takes the precaution to put together some sort of stage version, no matter how brief or inept, and to have it furtively performed at a suburban hall with a theatrical license, the actors being a few friends who read their parts anyhow, and the audience a single confederate who complies with the law by paying for his seat. The price of admission is prohibitive to the casual student of the bill on the door—usually about five dollars and a quarter.

Further, the English stageright in a play is forfeited if the play is performed first in America. Consequently, the first thing a dramatic author has to do, when his play is not written for immediate production in England, is to give a copyrighting performance of the kind described above. The dramatic authors and the novelists between them thus keep up a series of theatrical performances of which the public knows nothing, but upon every one of which the Examiner of Plays levies his ten dollars and a half. What is more, these freaks of the law of copyright greatly increase his power, since not only the performance of the play in England, but the acquisition of valuable property rights elsewhere, is made dependent on his pleasure.

There is another way in which the Examiner can increase his emoluments. Formerly, if a play was susceptible of amendment, the Examiner specified the lines to which he objected, suggesting additions to alter the complexion of the moral situation in the play, and even altering expressions which were against his rules: for example, changing "as drunk as a Lord" to "as drunk as a Heaven," in pursuance of a rule, now fallen into disuse, that Heaven should always be substituted for the name of any of the Persons of the Trinity. Mr. Redford's immediate predecessor, refusing to license a translation of a French play, on the ground that the heroine, a married woman, had been guilty of an indiscretion in early life, was visited by the actress cast for the part, who naturally used all her powers of persuasion to induce him to

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revoke his decision. Finally he consented, on condition that the words "I sinned but in intention" were introduced into her part. Accordingly, every night, during the burst of welcome which hailed her first entrance in the piece, the actress remarked confidentially to the conductor of the band, "I sinned but in intention," and thereby rescued her country from demoralization by French levity. A little later, a gifted American actress wrote a painfully powerful piece in which a mother, to save her child from growing up a helpless cripple, kills it. To this the Examiner had no objection; but, unfortunately, the mother baptized the child before killing it, a proceeding incompatible with his rules. He refused the necessary license. The American lady, unaccustomed to be so suppressed, swooped down on the Examiner as he sat at breakfast, and demanded an explanation. He soon weakened so far as to ask what, exactly, the lady proposed to do with the infant. She thereupon made a rag baby of his napkin, and, with the help of the hot water from his tea-tray, rehearsed the scene. He admitted its propriety; and she went off in triumph with her license. The very form in which the license is issued provides for these contingencies by excepting such passages as may be endorsed on the back of the certificate.

But Mr. Redford is a sharper man of business than his predecessor. On his refusal to license a certain play of mine, I asked the usual questions as to the particular passages objected to. Mr. Redford replied impressively that, if a new play were submitted to him, he would endeavor to forget having read the former one. This meant that if I would guess the obnoxious passages, and send him another ten dollars and a half, he would tell me whether my guess was right. He thus extracted double fees from me; and if I had required the license for an ordinary production of the play, instead of for a mere copyrighting formality, it might very well have taken half a dozen minimum guesses at ten dollars and a half apiece to ascertain the exact line drawn by his moral opinions without needlessly going beyond it. As it was, I simply deprived the play of the passages which explained its meaning (the residue being sufficient for my purpose), and so secured my license without further expenditure. This procedure on the part of the Examiner is unquestionably both logical and businesslike. It must increase his fees and economize his work very considerably. No wonder his post, with its fees, its powers,

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its unassailable permanence, and its unimpeachable gentility as a post in Her Majesty's household, is much sought after.

The statutory penalty for defying the Censor is a fine of fifty pounds, which can, theoretically, be levied on any person connected with a forbidden performance, call-boy, checktaker, carpenter, bandsman, actor, author, manager, stage-doorkeeper, and who not? No attempt has been made in recent cases to recover this penalty, ostensibly because the department has no funds with which to institute prosecutions, but really, one suspects, because the cases would have to be tried by jury, and the average British juryman, though usually a worm under the foot of the judge, can turn if he likes. Even judges have flashes of the constitutional spirit at odd moments. Here we have the weak place in the Examiner's powers which led to the famous evasion of him on the centenary of Shelley's birth. It was proposed to celebrate that occasion by a performance of "The Cenci." The Examiner would not hear of it; but the performance was given for all that in the Grand Theatre, Islington (a northern suburb of London), before an audience of poets, headed by Browning, and a crowd of their disciples. Technically, this performance was not a public representation of the play: it was only a meeting of the Shelley Society. The spectators did not pay at the doors: they had all joined the Shelley Society for the season, and were attending this particular "private" meeting of it in the exercise of their ordinary right as members. For the moment the defeat of the Censor was complete. But the performance had taken place in a London theatre; and London theatres are subject to the Lord Chamberlain, who licenses them from year to year. The unfortunate lessee, having let his house to the Shelley Society (without any knowledge of the plot in hand), found himself at the mercy of the outraged Chamberlain when the time came for renewing his license. What passed between them is not known; but there is now a clause in the lease of that theatre stipulating that no performances of unlicensed plays shall be given in it. When the Shelley Society proposed to repeat "The Cenci" some years later, the Lord Chamberlain was master of the situation. With a single revolutionary exception, no manager dared lend or let his theatre for the purpose. The terror was so complete that a manager who, not realizing his risk, had discussed quite favorably the possibility of placing his house at the disposal of the Society, was compelled to

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write to the press vehemently denying that he had ever contemplated such an enormity, although his letters were in the hands of the very persons he was publicly contradicting.

Since then, the blockade has been run only by the Independent Theatre, which succeeded in producing Ibsen's "Ghosts" on three occasions without a license. In this case, no license was applied for, its refusal being practically certain; and the first performance, which was technically "private," like that of the Shelley Society, was over before the lessee of the theatre knew that anything exceptional was happening. After this, the theatres were thoroughly on their guard; but, later on, the founder of the Independent Theatre, Mr. Grein, invited his friends (including all the subscribers) to an "At Home," hiring for the purpose one of the numerous halls which are let in London for dances, minor political meetings, lectures and the like. Here he entertained his guests with a second performance of "Ghosts." A third was accomplished some years later, virtually in the same way. No attempt was made by the Lord Chamberlain, on any of these occasions, to enforce the statutory fine, restrain the projectors by injunction, or otherwise assert any right of interference with performances which are not opened to the public by taking money at the doors for admission. But it is evident, from the fact that nothing will now persuade any manager or proprietor of a licensed theatre to allow such a performance to take place in his house, that the power of closing theatres which the Lord Chamberlain wields as the licensing authority, makes him effectively the Tzar of the drama.

To Americans, who, as I have pointed out, are as much concerned in the Censorship as the English are, the drama being practically international, this state of things may seem so Russianly subversive of fundamental western rights as to stand condemned by the mere statement of it. In England, the only question that arises is: How does the institution work? The fact that it violates those Rights of Man which are expressly constitutional in America is to the English mind all in its favor. No doubt the Englishman is earnestly jealous for his religious liberty, and at least excitable about his political liberty. An attempt to force the Salvation Army to have their hymns licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the daily papers to have their political leaders licensed by the Queen's Lectrice, would produce an over-

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whelming agitation at once; though there is rather more to be said for either measure than for the censorship of the English dramatists by Mr. Redford. But beyond this the Englishman does not go. Far from believing that either he himself or anybody else can be safely trusted with further liberties, he lives absolutely convinced that only by a strenuous maintenance of restrictive laws and customs, supported on every public occasion by the most reverent professions of faith and loyalty, feigned or sincere, can society be withheld from casting all moral considerations to the winds and committing suicide in a general Saturnalia of reckless debauchery. I do not pretend that this will be accepted in England as a sane statement of fact; for, if England were conscious of its own absurdity, it would cease to be absurd. Still less do I mean to suggest that it is a delusion at all peculiar to England or unknown in America. But I am concerned here only with an application of it which *is* peculiar to England. Nobody will deny that the normal assumption in England is that without a Censor the stage would instantly plunge to the lowest practicable extreme of degradation—an assumption quite undisturbed by the fact that Literature, without a Censor, behaves far more decently than Drama with one. For myself, as a dramatic author, I can say that few things would surprise me more than to meet a representative Englishman who regarded my desire to abolish the Censor otherwise than he would regard the desire of a pickpocket to abolish the police. To such an Englishman, it seems the most obvious piece of common sense that some respectable person should be made responsible for the propriety of the plays to which his daughters go; so that he may be guaranteed against the natural propensity of the theatre towards licentiousness. Accepting the court standard of decorousness as absolute, he considers that if a lord who is a member of Her Majesty's household cannot be trusted to decide questions of propriety, nobody can. No competitive examination, no professorship of Dramatic Literature, no control by an elected representative body, could give him any greater sense of security than the position of the Lord Chamberlain. And, I may add, they could give the dramatists no greater sense of security either.

Let us, then, embrace this apparently common-sensible view of the institution, and inquire simply how it fulfils, not its original purpose (it was instituted by Walpole to prevent Fielding from

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exposing parliamentary corruption on the stage), but the purpose for which it survives. What sort of plays does it license; and what sort of plays does it suppress? A very conclusive answer to this question would be a description of the most unpleasant play licensed within my experience by Mr. Redford's predecessor, who refusel to license "The Cenci," and of the most unpleasant play licensed by Mr. Redford himself. But, fastidious reader, suffice it to say that, were such an answer attempted, the guaranteed morality of the Censor-protected stage would appear as an outrage in the columns of the free Press.

Since the Censorship does not protect the playgoer's daughter from improper plays, it is evident that it either does not protect her at all, or else protects her only from further extremities. But further extremities would be dealt with by the police. The Censor does not prevent either the sexual sensationalists or the mere blackguards from doing their worst on the stage; he only protects them by his certificates.

This is not the fault of the Censor. A moment's consideration will show it to be so inevitable, that if you or I, punctilious reader, were Examiner of Plays, it would not be altered in the least. Let us examine the position. You take a commonplace official; confront him with a play by a man probably cleverer than himself, possibly a genius destined to be remembered for many centuries; and ask him to decide whether the net effect of a performance of that play on the destiny of the human race will be helpful or harmful. The Delphic oracle itself would not have the impudence to pretend that it could answer such a question. Even the Roman Catholic Church does not profess to exercise its censorship without supernatural guidance; and the Roman Catholic Church, which is at least not less qualified for the task than Mr. Redford, has admittedly made serious mistakes both through the Inquisition and in the compilation of its *Index Expurgatorius;* failing to add anything to the natural check of public opinion upon really licentious literature, whilst restricting popular access to the Bible, and missing its mark in the suppression of books so frequently that the placing of a work in the *Index* almost raises a European and American presumption in its favor. But, pray, do not be so unjust as to conclude, because the British citizen thoughtlessly expects Mr. Redford to succeed where a great Church has failed, that Mr. Redford himself puts forward

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any such pretension. When Mr. Redford refuses to license Tolstoï's "Dominion of Darkness," for example, he does not refuse on the ground that he, Redford, is a more highminded man, or a philosopher with a greater power of distinguishing the conventions of propriety from the realities of moral evil, or a more disinterested and public-spirited citizen of the world, a deeper seer into the future, a keener observer of the present, a wiser critic of life than Tolstoï. If he took that ground, a shout of laughter from the whole civilized world would be the answer. What Mr. Redford and every such censor does say to Tolstoï (if he has sense enough to understand his own position is: "You are a much cleverer and, no doubt, a better fellow than I am; and I cannot pretend to criticise you. But I must administer the rules of my office as a judge administers the laws; and your play is against my rules. It may be a very good play; and certainly lots of the plays that are inside my rules are shockingly bad ones; but I can't help that: if I were to discriminate outside my rules I should be setting myself up as a sort of Platonic philosopher-king, which I'm not, and which no official is at all likely to be. I do my best to march with the times, stretching the rules as much as possible, or even dropping one out when it becomes too ridiculous; but I must point out to you that there is one rule that never varies, and never can vary; and that rule is that a play must not be made the vehicle of new opinions on important subjects, because new opinions are always questionable opinions, and I cannot make Her Majesty the Queen responsible for questionable opinions by licensing them. The other rules are simple enough. You mustn't dramatize any of the stories in the Bible. You mustn't make fun of ambassadors, cabinet ministers, or any living persons who have influence in fashionable society, though no notice will be taken of a gag at the expense of General Booth, or a Socialist or Labor member of the County Council, or people of that sort. You mustn't have any love affairs within the tables of Consanguinity in the Prayer Book. If you introduce a male libertine in a serious play, you had better 'redeem' him in the end by marrying him to an innocent young lady. If a female libertine, it will not matter if she dies at the end, and takes some opportunity to burst into tears on touching the hand of a respectable girl. There are lots of little ways in which a play can disclaim any unusual views as to the relations of the sexes, even when it stretches our rules

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as to conduct. In farcical comedy and musical farce, you cannot come into conflict with us, because all the fun in them depends on the conventional view of bad conduct. The observance of these rules of ours constitutes a sort of *technique* which is easily picked up, which is in harmony with the common usages of gentlemen, and which is never objected to by anybody but the people who would be disqualified anyhow by having new views—the cranks, in short. That's how our place works. You owe me two guineas, please, for refusing to allow you to produce your play. Thank you. Good morning."

The rules here spoken of are not printed for the guidance of dramatists. They are traditional and probably unwritten. They are not the invention of any individual Censor: they simply codify the present and most of the past prejudices of the class he represents. To write a play which complies with them in form whilst grossly violating their purpose is as easy as lying: it is the trade of the adapter of French farces. To write a play which holds their purpose as sacred as any Examiner can, whilst violating their form in every scene, is as difficult as the achievement of greatness: it is the fate of the man of genius, necessarily always defending humanity against plutocracy and reality against hypocrisy. Each successive Censor makes the best of these rules when he is young and elastic, and the worst of them when he is old and ossified; but, in the main, they bind him as tightly as they bind the public. He may admire "The Cenci;" but he dare not license it. He may feel as deeply as Matthew Arnold did the degradation of the English theatre, and may know quite well that English Literature towers high above English Drama, because Literature is subject to no judgment but that of its natural masters, the authors. Not only Matthew Arnold, but Byron and Shelley, Ruskin and Carlyle, Dickens, Thackeray and Mark Twain, Darwin and Mill, Huxley and Tyndall, George Eliot and Sarah Grand, Meredith and Tolstoï—all those, in short, whose eminence makes the roll of acted dramatists so petty by contrast, must have been suppressed by an Examiner of Books, had such an official existed. Mr. Redford cannot help himself: a Censorship cannot work in any other way, until a Censor can be found greater than the greatest dramatists. That being impossible, he is doomed still to put his hall-mark on profligate farces and thinly sentimentalized tom-cat love tales, and to shut the stage door

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against the great dramatic poets. For these poets must say to themselves what Carlyle said to himself: "One thing in the middle of this chaos I can more and more determine to adhere to: to clear myself of cants and formulas as of poisonous Nessus shirts; to strip them off me, by what name soever called, and follow, were it to Hades, what I myself know and see." And the Censor must reply: "I really cannot allow you to do anything so ungentlemanly. My instructions are to admit nobody to the stage without a complete Nessus suit on, in which he must make up his mind to face straight for Church Parade in the Park and turn his back decisively on Hades, no matter what he knows or sees."

And so, in the end, the public gets neither the dramatist's view of life, nor the Examiner's view of life, nor its own view of life, nor in fact any real view of life at all. It does not get a clean stage, simple as that seemed: there is always one theatre, at least, in London where the fun consists of mere blackguardism under a royal certificate of propriety. It does not even get the laws against the exhibition on the stage of very young children enforced: reproachful-eyed babies are still tossed about from hand to hand in lewd farces; and infamous ballets are danced at eleven o'clock at night by tiny children kept awake only by unhealthy excitement. This at least the Censorship might stop; but it never does. No serious steps to make London theatres safe were taken, until the responsibility was transferred to the County Council. Desiring to give a judicial air to this article, I have racked my brains and searched my pretty exhaustive experience as a critic of the theatres to find a single item to the credit of the Censorship's account in the books of the Recording Angel. I find none. Shame, folly, ridicule, and mischief are the fruits of it, and the sole possible ones, as, I repeat, they would equally be if I or Tolstoï himself were Censor. Nobody profits by it except the Examiner, who lives by it, and the Lord Chamberlain, who is occasionally presented by the managers with silver plate, which he publicly accepts as naïvely as those Stuart Masters of the Revels (the original Censors), who entered in their journals the presents made to their wives by the actor-managers of the day.

What, then, is to be done with the Censorship? Nothing can be simpler. Abolish it, root and branch, throwing the whole legal responsibility for plays on the author and manager, precise-

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ly as the legal responsibility for a book is thrown on the author, the printer, and the publisher. The managers will not like this: their present slavery is safer and easier; but it will be good for them, and good for the Drama. And transfer the authority to license theatres from year to year from the Lord Chamberlain to the London County Council, which already deals with music halls, and is jealously criticised by the Press and the electorate.

Alas! when we pass from the What to the How, the simplicity of the problem vanishes. Some years ago, when the London Playgoer's Club invited my opinion as to how the Censor could be got rid of, I had to reply that, as far as I could see, nothing short of abolishing the monarchy could touch him. But we are not going to burn down our house to roast our pig in that fashion. Besides, nobody, except Mr. William Archer and a few dramatists whose plays have been suppressed, seems to object to the Censorship. There are no complaints in Parliament, none in the Press, no petitions from the Society of Authors or from the managers. A forgotten Royal Commission on the subject came to the unimpeachable conclusion that a perfect censorship is a desirable thing; and the consensus among the manager-witnesses as to the superhuman personal qualities of their master, the then Examiner, quite outweighed the display of petulant shallowness made by that gentleman when he was invited to shine on the Commission in person. The public is either satisfied or indifferent, because the class in England which feels social matters deeply does not go to the theatre, and the class which does go wants to be amused there, and not edified or conscience-stricken. There is no money in the question, no vote-catching power, no popular interest in or knowledge or comprehension of it, and consequently no political capital to be made out of it. The censorship will probably outlive the House of Lords and the supremacy of the Established Church, as quietly as it has outlived the Metropolitan Board of Works and the Irish Church. In England this article will be entirely wasted: no English editor has ever dreamt of asking me to deal with the subject. In America, it may be useful, in view of the likelihood of attempts to set up State Censorships in that country. In which case, O my friends across the sea, remember how the censorship works in England, and DON'T.

G. Bernard Shaw.

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A CENTURY OF SALONS AND ACADEMIES.

BY ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL.

NEVER, since the world began, has there been so much self-conscious talk about art as during the last hundred years, never such an enormous effort to develop it, such a deliberate determination to patronize it. In France, from the moment the Revolution did away with the old restrictions of the *Académie*, until the establishment of a second *Salon* in our own day, it has been one long story of agitation and development, of secession and revolt,—of Romanticists pitted against Classicists, of Impressionism struggling against Naturalism, of the rise and fall of more *isms* and *ists* than one can count. In England, by 1800, the Academy, founded by artists after the French model and approved by Royalty, was already flourishing; by the middle of the century, the enthusiasm had reached such a pitch that the gigantic forcing-house for the manufacture of more artists was started at South Kensington; and, after that, there is no keeping pace with the Schools, Societies, Classes, Missions, Extension Lectures, East End Exhibitions set going, in order to bring art to the people, with, loud above the turmoil of the self-appointed teachers and preachers, the voice of Mr. Ruskin, the Prophet, proclaiming the new Gospel.

It is interesting, therefore, now we have come to the last shows of the century, where, if anywhere, the results of the agitation and enthusiasm should be seen, to stop and ask just how much art has profited by modern patronage and protection, and what has been done for the artist. Next summer, the Paris Exhibition may round out the century more perfectly; but there, after all, it will be easier to enjoy the great things accomplished during recent years, than to judge of the true state of affairs at

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the present moment. That is why it seems to me that the *Salons* and Academy of this season have a special importance, apart from any question of the merit of individual work.

If there is one point upon which people whose opinion is of value agree, it is that these shows are of unparalleled dulness. The dulness has been gradually growing, to be sure; artists have not leaped into it at a bound. But it seems to have culminated this spring, as if in honor of the close of a century that has gloried, rather ostentatiously, in its love for art. In Paris, they will tell you, it is because everybody is holding back to make the finer display in 1900. In London, they drag out again the old plea of a winter of fog and influenza. But, at least, there is no doubt in anybody's mind of the dulness, while the more enterprising are busy seeking for an excuse to explain it away.

No such excuse is needed at the Royal Academy. That it should get together a distinguished collection in its annual show, is the last thing that has been expected of it since the days of Reynolds and Gainsborough. The whole Academical system is against such a possibility. Good work has at times been seen on its walls, the promising performances of the younger men sometimes discovered stowed away in odd corners. Is it not still recorded as an astounding fact that Mr. Whistler's "Portrait of His Mother" once graced the exhibition, that for the "Christ Washing Peter's Feet," of Ford Madox Brown, a bad place was grudgingly found, that room was made for the earlier canvases of the Pre-Raphaelites? Indeed, good work may still be buried in the year's accumulation of rubbish, but I do not believe in hunting for art in a picture gallery, as if it were a needle in a haystack. When you read a book, you are not supposed to wade through hundreds of pages of advertisements before you come to that which can be called literature; at a concert, you do not sit and listen to a medley of music-hall songs as a preparation for Wagner.

The New Gallery, on the other hand, inherited the traditions of the Grosvenor as the headquarters of the independents, as a refuge from the Academy; and, consequently, one had a right to ask for better things from it. As long as Sir Edward Burne-Jones lived, his work was the Gallery's most conspicuous feature; and, with its richness of invention, the poetry of its symbolism, it commanded respect, even if one was not in sympathy with the painter's methods. But now, this year, what is there?

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I do not exaggerate, I am expressing not only my own views, but those of the three or four London critics whose criticism carries weight, when I say that, beyond a group of portraits by Mr. Sargent and Mr. Orchardson, and a little landscape by Mr. Mark Fisher, there is nothing in either show, absolutely nothing, of genuine distinction. And yet there are some three thousand other contributions: among them, a few pictures that might be described in a detailed notice for a local paper; pictures that mark the progress or degeneracy of the painter, or are noteworthy for some other reason of the kind, but are without the merit that alone would justify a description of them being sent across the Atlantic, or, for that matter, across the Channel. A vague attempt to revive eighteenth century affectations or to play the primitive, a feeble effort to copy the success of the Academy last year, or the sensation of the *Salon* the year before, and the artist is at the end of his resources. He cannot see for himself, he has not the energy to study the work of men who can. When it comes to Mr. Sargent, his portraits, though so much better than the poor stuff surrounding them, scarcely equal his own most brilliant achievements. At the New Gallery, his "Colonel Ian Hamilton," a fine spirited presentment of the finest type of soldier, is a sketch, not a finished portrait; at the Royal Academy, his "Lady Faudel-Phillips," the most striking of the several there, is one of his audaciously clever pieces of characterization, amusing in its pitiless realism, amazing in its renderings of jewels and all the details of a gorgeous costume; but it does not compare with the "Mr. Wertheimer" of last year, and I very much question if, in a show of all of Mr. Sargent's portraits, one would pick out either of these two for special mention or eulogy.

However, it is not only in the absence of individual work of note that the two exhibitions are so depressing. It is rather in their lifelessness, their colorlessness as a whole. They carry on no good traditions; they reveal no tendencies, new or old; they represent no school, no movement, no group; they announce no revolution, no new departure. That too many artists to-day can only demolish and not create, that they have become the politicians of art, is, I know, felt to be a serious fault in them. But, if the painters and sculptors at the Academy would only show the slightest desire to demolish anything, if they would only give us something as definite as politics, it would be far more hopeful, far

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more entertaining, far more stimulating, than their present content to hold what one critic defines as "a bazaar for the sale of bad art and the encouragement of bad artists."

As for the New Gallery, with the death of Burne-Jones it has simply lost every reason for its existence. It has dwindled into a mere annex of the Academy, another stall in the yearly bazaar, that is all. The truth is that the chief movement the Grosvenor countenanced and supported was but the fashion of a day. A revival as entirely artificial as the Neo-Gothic could not last longer. A much more honest revolt against the Academy and its conventions was that of the younger men, of some fifteen years ago, who founded the New English Art Club. But they, as "the younger men" always will do, flew to extremes; they were too narrow in their exclusiveness; they gave too free play to their prejudices, with the result that, though their exhibitions are still pleasant, still distinctly artistic in intention—which is more than can be said of most of the other shows—they themselves have lost the little influence that was once theirs.

Whatever hope there is at the present moment, whatever promise, whatever vitality, centres in the International Society of Painters, Sculptors, and Gravers, now in its second year. The name explains that it does not confine itself to British art and artists. But, unlike the Academy—which does occasionally encourage the foreigner, to the great indignation of the native—the International accepts only the best, the most vigorous, the most distinguished expression of foreign art. It prefers Mathew or James Maris to Alma-Tadema, as a Dutchman; Besnard to Bouguereau, as a Frenchman. And when it is remembered that it can claim Mr. Whistler as its president; that it is the only London gallery open to the Glasgow men, who, if they have their defects, have also the qualities of those defects; that it is not hedged about by privileges for the few, restrictions for the many; that the poor or indifferent work which creeps in fails from too much rather than too little ambition; that its galleries are arranged with some feeling for effect, unity of purpose, and consideration for every separate picture, and not solely in the vain desire to crowd in as many things as they can hold; it will be understood why, upon the International, the future of art in England, or I should say, Great Britain, seems to rest.

And now, to turn to Paris. The *Salons* also are dull, and one

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feels it the more keenly because, again this year, both are sheltered under the vast roof of the *Palais des Machines*. Dulness is no new thing at the "Champs-Elysées" *Salon*, as it is still familiarly known; that is, the show of the older *Société des Artistes Français*. Since the secession of its most accomplished members, after the split of 1889, it has been virtually as dreary as the Royal Academy. It is larger; there is a higher level of technical ability in the work—in Paris, at least, as has been said, "they know which end of the brush to put in their mouth, though in London it is still a matter of taste;" and more courage and enterprise are displayed in the size of the canvases. I can find no other difference, and I sometimes think that the *Salon* is drearier than the English exhibition, simply because it is so immense, and because the artists are well enough trained to know better. I wandered through the wilderness of galleries this year, I passed the usual acres of canvases and tons of stone, and the only pictures I saw—the only pictures I have seen in these last ten dreary years, until I am tired of saying so—were the gray moorlands of M. Pointelin, the stately riverside landscapes by M. Harpignies, the idyls by M. Fantin-Latour. I am not speaking of the sound work, of the meritorious work, of the promising work, of the work that is found by searching for it, catalogue in hand; but of the work with just that little more in it that tells in a huge modern exhibition, where even the sensation of heroic proportions has ceased to thrill or astonish. M. Rochegrosse may vie with M. Tattegrain in the number of square yards he can cover with his brush and in the horrors with which he can fill his big *Salon machine*, but the year's *reclame* is all for the statue of Balzac by M. Falguière. Not because of any charm, or distinction, or beauty in the bulky, shapeless, commonplace figure, but altogether because of last year's gossip over M. Rodin's melodramatic "Balzac," and the refusal of the *Société des Gens de Lettres* to accept it, and their choice of M. Falguière to design another more to their taste, and M. Falguière's noble but disappointed hope that two masterpieces would be the result. Where there is such splendid copy for the journalist, who cares if there be scant glory for the artist? The incident is typical; that is why I have referred to it.

The *Salon* of the *Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts*, the "Champ-de-Mars" *Salon*, is, as it always has been from the start, gayer, more amusing, more adventurous. But to anyone who has

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followed its career, who has been to its every exhibition since the first, as I have, the gaiety now seems a trifle forced, the adventure half-hearted, the actual accomplishment, of which there is much, but a repetition, a re-echo, of what has already been done, and better done, by the same artists in previous shows. On every side are signs of lassitude and fatigue. There is no one to take the place of Puvis de Chavannes; his death occurred at the very crisis when the exhibition could least afford to lose those calm, stately, low-toned decorations, that, in their reticence and sobriety, filled one with a sense of repose after the loud restlessness, the hot, strident color of the mere clever experiment, the picture painted frankly to tell—to scream—on exhibition walls.

Time, or over-production, seems to have destroyed, or lessened, the vigor and vitality of this society's other leaders. M. Carrière is so overwhelmed by the tragedy of life that he no longer sees its beauty. Weariness has taken possession of M. Aman-Jean: his was never a robust talent, but now you can almost fancy the brush slipping from his fingers, in his sheer physical prostration, as he labored to be in time for the *Salon*. M. Gaudara is oppressed by the millinery of his sitters, M. Blanche by the elegance of his composition. Were I writing a description of the work, I should have something to say in praise of M. Besnard's ceiling, in doubt of M. Boutet-de-Mouvel's decoration; I might speak in detail of the studies and landscapes by M. Cazin, and, here and there, of another suggestive or interesting canvas. But, as my object now is to give an idea of the character of the collection as a whole, I cannot but dwell on this effect of general fatigue, which struck me above all else. Several artists, among them, unfortunately, Mr. Whistler, who can ill be spared, absent themselves altogether. The American section—Mr. Sargent and Mr. Dannat unrepresented, Mr. Alexander and Mr. McLure Hamilton sending only one or two portraits,—would be surprisingly weak were it not for Mr. St. Gaudens. His "General Sherman" and M. Rodin's "Eve" are the triumphs of the year.

And, as at the Royal Academy, it is not only in individual performances that this distressing inertia declares itself. In vain I looked for the activity—not the most desirable characteristic, perhaps, but still better than indifference—that expresses itself in new movements, in new schools, in new departures. For long at this *Salon*, one was sure to come upon a little group of painters

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who were struggling with new problems of light or atmosphere, or boldly trying new experiments in technique, and whose work, if in a measure but a bid for notoriety, had, undeniably, life in it. There is nothing of the kind now. Nor any indication of the talent, that, however strange or bewildering or bizarre it may at first seem, one knows must in the end vindicate itself—prove itself right. And this is not, as in the near past, because subject has become all-absorbing. The wave of mysticism has passed; the religious picture is no more, and M. Carolus-Duran, in his dingy "Crucifixion," only succeeds in sealing its fate. All the energy and vigor that survive, I thought, was to be found in the prints and drawings, though in them also, compared to the delightful collections of recent years, there is a sad falling off.

Here, then, at the close of the century, we have, in the two great art centres of Europe, the large exhibitions of the season justly, as well as universally, admitted to be, with one exception, the poorest held for years. The older men—it must be understood that I am speaking generally; again, there are exceptions—have exhausted not only themselves, but, apparently, all possibilities for the younger men. There are no younger men—as yet, no material from which the art of the next generation is to spring. It is no wonder that this unexpected conclusion to a hundred years of effort, of supervision, of deliberate culture, leaves the honest critic saddened and amazed; no wonder that he seeks, here, there, and everywhere, for the reason of it.

In England, the responsibility is laid upon the Academy. The complaints against it, that began with Gainsborough and were continued by Haydon, that have been officially recorded in the reports of two commissions appointed to examine into them, have strengthened with the years. The mistake might be to see in the Academy anything but a pleasant club, were it not for the power it wields: it organizes what is supposed to be the national exhibition of the year, it administers the Chantrey and other bequests, it has numerous privileges to bestow. It is natural that it should be the ambition of every British artist to belong to it and share its advantages; and, as long as this is the case, the task of reforming it and its shows will be left to the chance enthusiast or faddist. However, the scandal of its summer exhibition, now a rallying-place for the amateur from every corner of the United Kingdom, a gallery where all but the artist may apply, has be-

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come so great that the Academy itself has felt obliged to grant concessions. It is proposed, in order to make the show what it should be, that henceforward the eight pictures Academicians and Associates have the right to hang on the line, shall be reduced to six; the eight the outsiders are allowed to submit, to three: which means, chiefly, that work will be lightened for the jury—this year it is reported that, crammed as the Academy is, no fewer than twelve thousand works were rejected; it means also that competition with outsiders will be stifled, that there will be more space for the oldest and most senile Academician to fill with his banalities, more chance of admission for a still greater number of amateurs and bunglers. As to the artist, is it likely that he would be more welcome in the future with three fine pictures, or statues, or drawings, than now, with the eight he does not send? It is not the Academy, even in its most generous and amiable mood, that will show the way out of the difficulty.

But if in England the active supremacy of the Academy is thought at fault, in France the root of the evil is found in the indolence of the *Académie*. Restore it to the important position it held, in reality as in name, before the Revolution, some irrepressible optimists urge, and art will revive and flourish as of old. Others go to the opposite extreme, with M. Gabriel Mourey, and believe that the less official interference there is, the better. So far from wanting to kindle new life in an old, worn-out institution, they say, do not let us have any institutions at all.

Artists whose faith is not yet shaken in the galleries blame the dealer, who buys for his profit where the patron bought for his pleasure. But I have heard the dealers say that all would once more be well with the world, if the patron or collector, who knows nothing, still relied upon him—the dealer—who knows everything; as it is, the artist can sell any trash he chooses to paint, and exhibit it into the bargain, and the tone of the exhibitions is inevitably lowered. Reinstate the dealer, and the miracle is worked: the Reign of the Ugly is at an end.

Ingenious as are these various arguments, their real interest is the proof they give of an increasing distrust in the present exhibition system. I have no particular sympathy with the extremists, the anarchists. A modern exhibition has been, and can be, as delightful in its way as the National Gallery and the Louvre are in theirs; but not if it is managed by people who are just as

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willing to accept bad work as good, and quite unwilling to hang work that is better than their own. I think a clue to the evil is to be had in a fact pointed out in an essay by Mr. Naegely, the very latest of the Academy's critics. "The British School of Painting," he writes, "is represented at present in the National Gallery by the works of fifty-three deceased Masters (?). It covers a period of about two centuries and a half—from Dobson to Pickersgill. How many of these fifty-three artists have an incontestable claim to eminence?" But no one questions the possibility of the Academy's finding seventy contemporary artists, whom, by their election, it proclaims masters of painting, sculpture and engraving. The century's colossal blunder has been to believe that art and artists could be manufactured. Commercial at heart, it thought all that had to be done was to create the demand, and the supply would follow, as a matter of course; and, for a while, the army of students in the Academy and South Kensington schools, and in the studios of Paris, the countless canvases in the galleries were accepted as unanswerable proofs of this truth. Some twenty or thirty years ago, faith in the exhibitions was so complete that a picture had only to hang on the line in the Academy, or to be medalled in the *Salon*, to be considered a masterpiece. Those were the happy days when palaces went up by the dozen in the art purlieus of Kensington, and the youths of all nations rushed to Paris to try their luck in the Klondyke of art; the deplorable days when the exhibitions began to set the standard for the artist. The modern necessity of working up or down to the exhibition level has been regretted too often already, for me to insist upon it now.

But the good times could not last. The patrons of art who had made, in the Academy, those wonderful collections, like the Tate now saddled on a long-suffering nation, began to find that the masterpieces, for which they had paid thousands, would not in the open market fetch as many hundreds, and the pictures on the line ceased to sell as readily. The sensations in the *Salon* began to pall; when everyone painted big *machines* size was no distinction; and the whole medal system was so abused that it was really the cause of the split in 1889. In a word, the Exhibition Bubble burst, though it has taken some few years for artists and public alike to realize the fact. But how remain blind to it after this spring, when, just before the shows, we were promised,

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as the supreme achievement of the Academy, a painting by a policeman—which, at the last moment, did not get hung; as the *clou* of the *Salons*, a picture with a frame opening by a spring, which may have enjoyed its success, for all I know! The worst of it is that, as the struggle has become harder, the artist, instead of understanding the real cause, has gone on giving more and more exhibitions; while, on the other hand, the public, puzzled, confused, convicted of ignorance, is now simply bored by the whole business. You have only to consult the press to learn how widespread is the new indifference. Only two of the London literary weeklies continue to publish a regular article on art. Popular sheets lengthen their columns of dramatic and literary notes; art notes are gradually disappearing. I noticed their absence, especially in the two short-lived Sunday ventures, both of which made every possible bid they could to popular taste. There is no doubt that the people have had enough of art. And it is at this moment of stagnation and dejection that American artists, who have heard rumors that London is rapidly replacing Paris as the world's great art centre, are coming to London in shoals! If they could but be made to realize that, if a few American artists, so few they could be counted on the fingers of one hand, have climbed to the top of the English ladder, it is only after an average, among the leading four or five, of thirty years of hard struggle and striving!

I have stated the facts. They are just now the subject of lamentation, but, I must say, I see in them more reason for rejoicing. Art need not depend on exhibitions. Take black and white work, for example. In all the galleries, except the Royal Academy—which seems to make a point of rejecting anything with the least pretence to character—it reveals more originality and life than the painting and sculpture, largely because it is entirely independent of these shows. The illustrator exhibits the drawings and prints he happens to have made; he does not make them in order to exhibit them. And so it ought to be with the painter and the sculptor. There has been too much sham, too much sentiment in the century's craze for art. When the artists who organize exhibitions, and the people who go to see them, would rather have two or three good pictures in a gallery than a thousand bad or sensational ones, the reproach of dulness will be silenced, the true millennium will have come.

E. R. Pennell.

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GIRLS' NOVELS IN FRANCE.

BY YETTA BLAZE DE BURY.

REPLYING to the question, Why has neither Flaubert, Maupassant, nor Paul Bourget written books that girls may read? I should like to point out that Flaubert has written *"Cœur Simple,"* Maupassant, *"L'Infirme,"* and *"Revenants,"* wonderful studies in psychology from which love is absent. Now, love is the object of a girl's greatest curiosity, and, consequently, girls will read neither *"Cœur Simple,"* nor *"L'Infirme,"* nor *"Revenants,"* since they would not find in them what they seek. Moreover, to speak of love to the French girl is a difficult matter.

In American or even in English society, where work, being obligatory, so to speak, leaves but to very few the leisure of the *dolce far niente,* in these societies where there is a certain amount of liberty in the relations between the sexes, a girl may be justified in allowing some licence to her imaginative sensibility. So much the worse for her if, while seeking to realize in life that which she has planned out of her reading, she only succeeds in getting married after a series of broken-off engagements. Her experience is acquired; the heart of an American or English woman has formed its supreme attachment only after passing through a novitiate. This previous knowledge, however, which is a kind of guarantee as regards the security of the Saxon household, would involve for the Frenchwoman an almost certain condemnation to celibacy. Such being the case, since sentiment properly so-called has no more than an exceptional relation to marriage, and since after marriage the life of sentiment has only to do with naturalistic novels forbidden to young people, would it not be logical to declare the reading of novels as hurtful to girls before marriage in France as to young wives after. In both cases such reading would serve only to excite their thirst in the desert.

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Since New Year's Day, 1620, when Pierre Arnaud announced to his fifteen-year-old daughter, Angelica, just as her mind was filled with dreams of fashionable life, that she was appointed Abbess of Port Royal; since then down to our own time, the convent in France has remained the refuge of women left without natural protectors. To these involuntary recluses of bygone days, who in their heart of hearts were all opposed to the vows they had been compelled to take, the gaiety of not a few abbeys rendered their lives agreeable, even when they possessed a most decidedly worldly disposition. But this gaiety no longer exists.

To-day, however, as formerly, the marriage day is the termination of the despotism exercised among us by the family, and the girl who refuses the lot chosen for her beforehand must wait a long time before she can have in French society a position equal to that, not of the married woman, but of the woman separated from her husband when she is not disgraced.

In France, the unmarried woman oscillates between two equally painful extremes in her relations with the other sex. The men either show her such an exaggerated respect that they seem to point her to the cloister as being her proper abode, or else they assume an aggressive familiarity towards her, and a tone bordering on libertinage. She must either belong to God alone, or else become common property, this ownerless individual, who, having no other protection than what is obtainable from the courtesy of each, has not much to expect from anyone.

In a society the interior *strata* of which are capable of resisting the effects of any revolution, in a society where certain prejudices form, so to speak, its *raison d'être*, and where, in reference to this very question of celibacy, a duke's daughter does not differ from the daughter of a *concierge*, in a society, in fine, where sentiment is *a priori* excluded from marriage, what necessity is there for a girl to read novels? On the contrary, it is better for her to cultivate all that can calm and restrain her imagination. Since to-day as formerly for the French girl, marriage, in the best acceptation of the word, exception being made of ambitious and society women, is but the *sine qua non* of maternity; the less a modern *bourgeoise* swerves from the rules of education of the seventeenth century, the better will she observe the mean that lies between a narrow religious practice and the requirements of the household.

A *bourgeoise* in the time of Pascal had not much leisure for

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sentiment; and as a Tartuffe was not to be met with by every Elmire, many a woman passed her life without ever being troubled by conflicts resulting from its activity. It may be objected that French memoirs are made up of stories in which sentiment plays the chief part. This is true; but the heroines are rarely girls, and the typical novel of the seventeenth century, "*La Princesse de Clèves*," bears out what I say, inasmuch as, whatever may have been Madame de Clèves' virtue and purity of mind, the Duc de Nemours wooed her not as Mademoiselle de Chartres, but as the married Princesse de Clèves.

To the reproach foreigners are fond of making, that we write no fiction which girls can read, we might reply that we have left this task for them, since it is the Tauchnitz edition and the translations of these volumes which form the staple of our French girls' reading. Such books as these, being introduced among young people whose future is rarely based on a love-match, have suggested to our authors, especially our women authors, a new literature of imitation.

The weak point in this innovation would appear to be that it reveals to our young girl readers only the noble and generous side of love, and too easily persuades these young hearts that men are, as a rule, chivalrous and only too ready to marry girls without fortune.

Already the so-called harmless "Tauchnitz" had sown hurtful illusions in the minds of those who were destined to the "*mariage de raison*," since the awakening was much more bitter for girls that had regarded their husbands as lovers, than for those that had taken the common-sense view and looked upon their future husband as the embodiment of marriage and the family.

If every book in the Tauchnitz edition showed, together with the infidelities we seek to hide from our girls, the hard lessons taught by such conduct, as Goldsmith does in "The Vicar of Wakefield," then "girls' novels" would be reasonable enough. The sentimentality of Saxon marriages, set forth in English and American novels, has led so many French girls to transform the solicitor's clerk who marries them into a hero of the romantic kind, that one might almost conclude there is a "Tauchnitz" in the innermost heart of many of our "Emma Bovaries."

When one considers what is the life led by a woman belonging to the middle classes in France, it is nothing but logical to assert

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that its legitimate consequence is a starving of the imagination. Our great-grandmothers were educated under a system that made their childhood one round of filial and religious duties, and their married life a round of maternal and household tasks. Magistrates' wives, like Madame Pernelle and others of Molière's comedies, had no five o'clock receptions, for they supped at five, had family prayers at seven, and at nine everyone was in bed. In such a life, girls had no more opportunity to read tales of romance than married women of the same period had to become heroines of a Paul Bourget novel.

One consequence of the Second Empire and of the modification it brought about by its cosmopolitanism among the French middle classes, was the spread of the knowledge of the English language. The English novel thus became a school text-book, as being comparatively easy to read; and furnished a model to Madame Craven, who at once began to write the novel with a purpose of the Faubourg St. Germain and religious style. Madame Gréville followed suit with the simply moral novel, where the society is elegant but not aristocratic. As for the novel "accessible" to girls, but written equally for their mothers, that is to say, the real, human novel, the authors who have reached the greatest literary excellence are Madame Bentzon and Madame Caro. They are without rivals in this particular kind of writing. In Madame Bentzon's books, one does not see the fixed determination to depict only one social phase which is exhibited in the writing of Madame Craven. What is especially visible is the development of an "idea," in the domain of morals or conscience, certain familiar evolutions of the mind, leading to remorse, a conversion, a divorce even, so many minute studies of the inner life which it is wise to let girls read in order to stimulate their mental vigilance and encourage them to examine their own hearts.

I.

The monotony of Madame Craven's writing is due to two causes, of which one has already been mentioned, the prominence of purpose; the other is the constant reproduction of two uniform types. Alexandrine d'Alopéus and Fernand de Laferronays, her heroes in the *"Récit d'une Soeur,"* fall in love, and get married; and their correspondence, which, according to the reader's standpoint, may be considered either interesting or absurd, is at any

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rate true to life, palpitating with reality, and consequently touching. As a novel of magic love the book is admirable; and the demand existing among the public for such a publication is proved by the fact that no fewer than forty editions have been issued. This, however, is no reason why, in her succeeding books, Madame Craven should have always presented us with Alexandrines and Fernands, why other lovers, Gauthier and Lucie, Anne Séverin and Guy, for example, should necessarily pass through the same anxieties of ardent affection and devotion as the heroes of the "*Récit d'une Soeur.*" The repetition becomes wearisome in the end. One of this author's latest works is "*Le Valbriant,*" in which we find, no less than in her first, the same double note of tenderness and devotion, together with some vigorous tones of the spirit of caste, which give their character to the whole book. Lucie, Marchioness de Livernois, has been unfortunate enough to have as a husband a bettor, a gambler, a libertine, whom she nevertheless adored. On returning, a widow, to her father's house, she meets once more with the companion of her childhood, Gauthier d'Arcy, who, in spite of his noble birth, has made himself a business man. In the eyes of the Marchioness, therefore, Gauthier is a "*déchu.*" "A gentleman cannot fall lower than in becoming a manufacturer," she says. On his side, Gauthier, who has always loved Lucie, even before her marriage, feels very keenly the cruelty of such social distinctions. Let us remark *en passant* the childishness of Madame Craven's resources; since she is reduced to separate her two heroes for such absurd causes. One is puzzled to know whence this woman, who declares Gauthier dishonored because he works, obtains the Christian humility needful for prayer, when kneeling beside Gauthier, she declares herself one with the man she so much despises. An accident, which gives Gauthier opportunity of performing an heroic action, and which at the same time makes a martyr of him (he becomes blind), touches the heart of the Marchioness, who marries him. A character at once so religious and so inflexible, who passes her life at the feet of the Christ, while wilfully forgetting, it must be presumed, that Joseph was a carpenter, a character to whom it needs no less than the blindness of the man she loves to make her experience a generous impulse, is really too little of a woman to exercise much charm on a reader. Let us hope, at least, that the emulation of Madame Craven's women readers will not be aroused.

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If in "Anne Séverin" the moral is somewhat less childish, it is scarcely more probable. The Marquis de Villois (we are always among the Marquises), is smitten with the charms of Mademoiselle de Nailles, and marries her at the time of the great emigration. Their son, Guy, falls in love with his cousin, Anne Séverin, they have passed their childhood together, and the little Anne is so perfect that already at nine years old she adjures Guy to "show himself more affectionate than ever to his father at times when the latter was most unjust." But a beautiful English girl crosses Guy's path, and he offers his heart to this foreigner, so that Anne believes herself abandoned. Here Madame Craven gets out of a difficulty by bringing Catholic proselytism into play. On Good Friday, under the dome of St. Peter's itself, the beautiful English girl makes fun of the priest who is preaching, and Guy, whom we may excuse for being shocked, breaks off his engagement with the eccentric foreigner and marries Anne. It must be confessed that such books as these are written for a special public, a public composed of fossils, a public which since 1830 has given up everything excepting the admiration of its own obstinacy.

When in the "*Correspondant*," which is the organ of this coterie, Mrs. Craven was able to devote herself to biography and came to speak of Father Damiens and Lady Georgiana Fullerton, she showed what she was capable of. She rose into the sphere of abstract considerations, and the abstract is what she succeeds in best. On the other hand, a cleverer writer even than Madame Craven would not thrive within such narrow bounds. Where hearts can love only Duchesses, and love's most passionate yearnings are invariably and solely religious, how can the author be normally interesting?

The same "*parti pris*" which stamps the writing of Madame Craven will be found in different guise, but quite as marked, in that of Madame Gréville. Instead of the reign of the Duchesses, we shall see that of the "*Bourgeoisie*." The sceptre is of different material but quite as despotic; there is the same systematic disdain of all that does not exactly square with the kind of society depicted. Take, for example, Madame Ramey and her niece, Sylvie, in the "*Fiancé de Sylvie*." We have two women of education and elegant manners, whom we should expect to be on visiting terms with the "Chateaux" round about. Such, how-

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ever, is not the case, and the inmates of the "Herbages," which is the name of Madame Ramey's country-house, appear to be reduced to the society of their Paris friends. There is a good deal of truth in this representation of provincial exclusiveness. But the *"Bourgeoisie"* in the provinces is separated from the nobility mainly by its own pride and good qualities; so that the exclusiveness comes rather from its own side. Faithful to its traditions of austerity, it refuses to indulge in racing and sporting amusements, from which its common sense, quite as wide awake as in the time of Molière, keeps it aloof, well knowing that it would only compromise its fortune in them. If, out of the twenty novels or so written by Madame Gréville, I have chosen as an example, *"Le Fiancé de Sylvie,"* it is because this book, like those of Madame Craven, shows us the same rigid indifference of the characters to all that does not belong to their own circle, and a narrowness of thought under cover of Liberalism quite as unyielding as that of Catholic proselytism. We have seen Madame Craven preach love in marriage, when the marriage was between Catholic *"grands seigneurs."* Here we shall have love in marriage once more; but, at the same time, we shall perceive the frailty of this love. Will it be a very edifying piece of reading for girls to see a husband, after twenty years of faithful married life, so easily led to neglect his excellent wife by the manœuvres of a child?

Pierre Clermont has married Amélie for love. They have no children and their ward, Sylvie, takes the place of one. But Sylvie Germain systematically refuses to marry. She loves her guardian and he, being touched by this affection, comes to share her feeling. Neither of them really fails in relations of duty to Amélie; but Pierre considers he is doing no harm in speaking tenderly to Sylvie, in listening to the confession of her feelings, and in letting himself be affected by her charm. However, Jacques Debrancy, the *fiancé* to whom Sylvie has given his *congé*, goes to Amélie Clermont for consolation, and, when the latter pours balm into his wounded heart, he perceives that, while imagining himself to be in love with Sylvie, he in reality had loved her godmother, Amélie. As all the harm has been caused by Sylvie, it is she who will make reparation. She has no difficulty in bringing Pierre back to the path of duty, from which, indeed, they both had strayed only in thought; and ulti-

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mately she marries Jacques. But is not the essence of error in the thought? And, for young minds, is there not great danger in insisting on the difference between thought and action where duty is concerned.

In reference to these questions of conscience, there appears to us to be much more relevancy in the novels of Madame Caro and Madame Bentzon; especially in the *"Un Remords"* of the latter. Here the working of the heroine's conscience is the main part of the work, and we see the culpability of the character depend not on acts but on the tacit consent of the mind; a thing which it is so important to inculcate in the young conscience. We will consider first the writing of Madame Caro.

II.

One of the advantages of Madame Caro's novels, especially for foreign readers, is that they do not deal with an exclusive phase of society, but, upon the whole, describe the various phases, mixed as they are in actual life, and without separating them into coteries. The *"Roman de Jeune Fille"* represents provincial life, like the *"Fiancé de Sylvie;"* but a provincial life which has been better studied and is nearer to reality. The scene of the story is a part of the country where the pettiness and paltriness peculiar to small places is somewhat ennobled by a sentiment of joint responsibility and relationship. Such a sentiment is often found uniting the inhabitants of a town where the fathers have begun friendships that the children continue. Lise Dauny is in love with the handsome Captain d'Esparvis. Lise is only the humble daughter of a clerk in the *Mairie* offices, and she has no fortune. The Baron d'Esparvis might with his title make a marriage for money, but he loves Lise and is going to marry her when Arthur Dauny, Lise's brother, who has fallen into low company, is condemned to eight years' penal servitude. As d'Esparvis will not consent to give up Lise, even in face of this dishonor, she heroically sacrifices herself and says adieu to her lover. Henceforth, Lise Dauny is alone, for her poor mother did not survive the disgrace. One day, Arthur returns to his native place and, while living with his sister, renders her life still more wretched by his conduct and bad company. Her father's home is made a veritable hell; on one occasion she is threatened with criminal violence by one of

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her brother's associates, and she flies half mad from the house. At length, Arthur is smitten with paralysis, but even in this state he succeeds in torturing his sister; he requires her not only to care for him, but personally to wait on him at all times, harasses and terrifies her, and enjoys being able to make her suffer. When, at last, death delivers Lise from this wretch she is worn out with her trials and struggles; and, after her existence of sacrifice, would have nothing but despair left to her if Georges Werner, an old companion of her childhood and a man of noble heart, did not come forward to tell her that he loved her. When she was attached to d'Esparvis, he had forborne to urge his suit, but, now that she was free, he offered her his hand and his heart.

Compared with "*Péché de Madeleine*," Madame Caro's "*chef d'oeuvre*," or with "*Souci*," "*Fausse Route*" and many other books from her powerful and delicate pen, the "*Roman de Jeune Fille*" may be regarded as one of those most suited to her talent. We get a novel in which the facts themselves suggest a moral line of conduct and the morality permeates the facts, a novel of exceedingly subtle psychology whence a lesson is obtained without preaching; the virtue of Lise, the admirable sacrifice of her love to the honor of d'Esparvis, the gentle patience she shows to her ignoble brother, and above all, the elevation of soul which leads her to say to Arthur, "in order to nurse you better, my brother, I will love you;" everything in this study is so ordered as to produce a book of wholesome and bracing reading for girls, a true "*Roman de Jeune Fille*."

We select now from the repertory of Madame Bentzon an example of a nature no less strongly tempered than that of Lise, but whose perfecting process was much more arduous, inasmuch as it fathomed the bottom of the moral abyss before rising into the true possession of itself. Lucette d'Armançon, the heroine in Madame Bentzon's "*Tony*," who has lost her mother, is left to the care of her father, a man of intemperate habits and controlled by a woman who serves in the house. The father dies and Lucette finds that, instead of the inheritance she had a right to expect, not more than an eighth remains. At the same time, she realizes that she loves Raynal, an American who has gone back to his own country to seek his fortune. For eight years Lucette lives on the letters she receives from Raynal. This torturing absence, however, has not been without

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profit; it has developed her nature, fortified her conscience, and when, after so long a time, Raynal writes to Lucette, "For eight years I have been repressing the cry of my heart: 'Lucette, be my wife,'" when Raynal and Lucette at length get married, all girl readers of the book have amply received the teaching that every book written for the young should contain. But since this novel speaks only of Lucette and Raynal, why is it entitled "Tony?" For this reason Monsieur d'Armançon had a son by the servant mentioned above, and it is partly owing to this natural brother, that Lucette obtains her moral salvation. In her childhood Lucette's violent and passionate character rendered her so jealous of the preference Monsieur d'Armançon accorded to Tony that one day she pushed the latter into the pond; immediately filled with horror and despair she threw herself in after him, and it was from this baptism of crime that Lucette came forth regenerated; so that "Tony" is the most appropriate name for the book, which shows us Lucette's mind passing from death to resurrection through her brother's indirect agency.

In "*Remords*" the story is, if such a thing be possible, still more impregnated with the conscience "*motif*" than in "Tony." Everything turns on a tacit complicity, on a duty neglected, not on a fault committed. "*Remords*" shows us that it is not enough to devote oneself to others, we ought to love them. The remorse of Manuela is not the feeling of having done wrong, but that of not having done right. Manuela, who is a beautiful Mexican girl, arrives in Paris and falls in love with one of those novelists whose own adventures and experiences furnish them with the material necessary to their literary production. The novelist abandons her and she marries Walrey, a man of noble character and loyal heart, but, being only a Flemish manufacturer, somewhat heavy and not at all romantic.

The tedium of living in the midst of blast furnaces induces Manuela, whose heart sometimes overflows, to confide to paper the souvenirs of her bygone love. A violent and refractory foreman, who nourishes a mad passion for Manuela, finds one of the leaves of this journal, and, in order to render Manuela free, he kills her husband. Just at the moment when Manuela sees Walrey receiving his death wound, she awakes to the consciousness that it is in reality herself who is the murderer. She has killed her husband by her yearning after the past; she has killed

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him by her egotistic self-contemplation. She has killed him because, instead of learning to love him, noble and generous as he was, she has only lived in pity of herself.

Providence, however, is merciful. Walrey survives for a month, during which time the unfortunate man, who now feels that he is adored, but has no strength to penetrate into the causes of the change, experiences such an infinite sweetness and tranquillity of happiness that Manuela, without soothing her conscience, can at least feel in the intense love she has for him who merits it enough torture to make her expiate her mistake.

After the death of Walrey we see Manuela gradually waste away under the influence of her self reproaches, and the volume closes with the remark of the old *curé* who, knowing all, looks at Manuela and says, "When the soul can no longer support its burden, God delivers it." "*Remords*" touches not only negligent wives or those who do not realize their duty. Many a girl, on examining her conscience, must accuse herself of having performed her task in the letter only, while neglecting the spirit. In "*Remords*" will be found a call to active good, which is profitable to everyone, an admirable example of inner awakening, an implicit warning to all consciences to pause before the temptation that leads to passive satisfactions; in fine, a thoroughly wholesome incentive to the quickening of our acts by love, and an implied judgment that our tasks, however well accomplished they may be, are only half done if our hearts are not in them.

III.

After the short sketch we have given of our most eminent writers for girls, it remains only to add a few concluding observations. Our opinion is that the depicting of objective situations, however risky they may be, is far less likely to injure the impressionable minds of our girls than moral *data* which are too elastic. In a word, it is less dangerous to show a girl moving in society the manners and morals even of an irregular phase of life, since she neither has, nor will have, any experience of it, than to show her characters without decision or definite outline, who are incapable of analysis or self-direction. If, however, this is done it should be done after the manner of Madame Bentzon in "*Remords*" or in "*Tony*," and in such a way as to arouse

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young minds to a realization of their inner life, and arm them against a sluggish conscience as against their worst enemy.

The books, on the contrary, written by Madame Craven are useless and perishable, the religion they teach is not the religion of the gospel but of a coterie; and the representation of human duty is just as false in these books, where honor and honesty turn their backs upon each other. The Duchesses in France for whom Mrs. Craven, herself* a *"grande dame,"* wrote, have, for a long time now, come chiefly from the manufacturing class; they are women who owe their fortune and the dukedom it buys to the industry of their fathers. The social morality of Madame Craven's books is consequently as relaxing and unlikely as their religious morality. Morally speaking, the case is similar in Madame Gréville's books, which are so many passionate pleadings to prove the contrary of what is taught in Madame Craven's novels; that is to say, they are written to prove that, outside the *"Sainte Bourgeoisie,"* there can exist nothing which is good. In Madame Craven's writings there are too many churches, in Madame Gréville's too few. The novel is not a Catechism, nor yet a "Citizen's Manual," it is rather the history of the human heart in its relations with love. It is as little reasonable to make the moral forces of the soul depend on its mystical tendencies as it is to do the reverse, by affirming that the only strong souls are those which are void of religious tendencies.

In our opinion, the true "girl's novel" is the one that accentuates the *rôle* of personal responsibility instead of diminishing it, the novel, in fine, such as it is conceived by Madame Caro and Madame Bentzon, the novel which enables girls to see clearly into their own hearts. The taste for the things of the soul, the preference the French woman has for seeking to know what is going on in the heart, is peculiarly manifest in the child, who among us will be much more interested in Cinderella's thoughts and feelings than in the splendor of the godmother's coach.

It is therefore necessary to speak to her heart, but also to her mind. Like Madame Bentzon, the novelist should not be afraid to lead her even to the contemplation of crime itself, when an awakening is to follow from it as with Lucette in *"Tony."*

YETTA BLAZE DE BURY.

*Madame Craven was the daughter of the Comte de la Ferronays, French Ambassador at Rome under Charles X.

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THE PLEASURES OF POVERTY.

(A WIFE'S PLEADING.)

BY MAX O'RELL.

(*Conversation overheard in a richly furnished studio: Monsieur is painting, Madame is watching him.*)

She (*reading an envelope*). "Philip Grantham, Esq., A. R. A." Lots of people live in the hope of adding letters to their names. You, my darling, will soon drop one.

He. Who knows? Perhaps—thanks to your encouragements, your praises, your love. I must finish this picture to-day, a few hours' work will do it. Now, take a cushion and come and sit beside me. (*She does.*) That's it. Closer than that—good. I can work so much better when you are near me.

She. Don't you think that there is a good deal of romance about our lives?

He (*goes on painting*). What do you mean, dear?

She. Oh! I mean—that we are so happy!

He. Yes, but that's hardly what people call romance. A romantic life means an eventful life, and happy people have no events in their lives. I don't believe that the most inventive dramatist could get a one-act play out of our lives. There is no plot to be found in our lives.

She. And we positively decline to plot.

He. Of course we do, darling (*a little preoccupied*), of course we do. (*Stops painting and thinks. She observes it and draws the cushion still closer*).

She. Philip (*he starts*), what are you thinking about?

He. You, dear, always you. (*Resumes painting*).

She. No, you were not thinking about me just now. (*Coaxingly*). You cannot deceive me. (*Pause*). Do you know that of late I have observed a little change in you—oh! just a little change?

He. A change?

She. Yes, you seem absent-minded, anxious, even irritable, and, worse than all that—this morning you had forgotten that it was the anniversary of our wedding—yes, you had.

He. All in your imagination, my dear child.

She. No, it isn't. A woman's intuition is often a safer guide than her eyes.

He. Your intuition, then, for once, is wrong.

She. Tell me, have you any troubles, any little troubles?

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He (*a little annoyed*). No, darling, none. Oh! let me work. Don't ask such silly questions.

She. Very well, I won't. (*After a pause, she rises, places her hands on her husband's shoulders and looks into his face*). Philip, what is it?

He. My darling, it's no use trying to work if you—

She. If I—well, it is getting dark, stop. (*He stops*). What is it?

He. Nothing, I tell you. I feel as usual, although—

She. Although? Ah! you see. I was right after all. Well?

He (*kissing his wife tenderly*). Well, sometimes I feel that I should like to do so much more for you than I have been able to.

She. What an idea! I am perfectly happy. There is not a woman in the world with whom I should like to change places. How could you make me happier?

He. What is your definition of happiness?

She. To be loved by a husband of whom you are proud. To be rich enough to afford all the necessary comforts of life; to be poor enough to make pulling together a necessity. And what is yours?

He. Well, I confess that I should like to be a little richer than that.

She. I see. You are beginning to be tired of this quiet life. Ah, take care, dear; noise frightens happiness away. I believe that many old proverbs want re-editing now-a-days. One should be: "When wealth comes in at the door, love and happiness fly out of the window." Take my word for it, too often Plutus leads to Pluto.

He. My dear child, we have to live for the world a little, and—

She. Excuse me if I do not understand you. I am only a woman. I can live for you, and for you alone. I know that love is not sufficient even for the most devoted and affectionate of husbands. A woman can live on love and die of it. That's the difference. Now, what is your definition of happiness?

He. To be blessed with a dear, adorable wife; to have money enough to enable me to surround her with every luxury—and, my dear, we are a long, a very long, way from being rich.

She. Ah, but think what an enviable lot yours is, after all. Yours is the most honorable of callings. You have no poor wretches sweating for you. Your income is the fruit of your personal handiwork. You are your own master. You help make life beautiful. You have a fame increasing every day. You enjoy the respect of everybody, the admiration of the public, the appreciation of the best critics, the company and the friendship of all the brain in London. A King might well envy the life of a great artist!

He. But you, my darling! It is you I am thinking of.

She. I share all your honors.

He. I should like to see you the mistress of such a house as you were brought up in.

She. Good Heavens! It is all I can do to keep this dear little one properly.

He. I should like to see you drive in a handsome carriage of your own.

She (*laughing*). A hansome cab is much more convenient, goes faster and costs less.

He. I should like to see *rivières* of diamonds on your lovely neck, precious stones on your fingers.

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She (*Serious—almost sad*). I wish no better collar for my neck than your true, manly arms, my Philip. On my fingers? Do you see this little ring?

He. A five-pound ring!

She. A priceless ring! Do you remember—ah, I do!—how for many weeks you put away ten shillings a week so as to be able to buy it for me on my birthday. A five-pound ring, indeed! (*She kisses the ring passionately*). Not for the Koh-i-noor would I exchange it. To me the real value of a jewel is the love it represents in the giver, and no rich gems could be richer in that sense than this dear little ring. (*He kisses her*). Ah! Philip, the rich don't know the pleasures they miss, the sweetest pleasures of poverty. Their gifts cost them no sacrifice. They don't possess their wealth, it is their wealth that possesses them. They have not the satisfaction of knowing that they are loved for their own sake. I would not give one year of my life for ten years of a millionaire's life. Why, they don't even have the proof that they are honest. They have no temptations. I would shudder at the idea that I might be rich one day.

He. Well, I think I could bear it with fortitude. My darling, the philosophers of all ages have taught that money does not make happiness; but sensible men of all times have come to the conclusion that it considerably helps to make it. I want money for no sordid reason. Money is round, it was meant to roll—and I mean to spend it.

She (*reproachfully and pathetically*). No, dear, money is flat, it was meant to stop and be piled up a little. You have made over a thousand pounds this year, and we have kept very nearly half of it. We are rich, you see, since we don't want all we have.

He. You are a dear, lovely little housewife.

She. Am I? Perhaps you will say a good little *bourgeoise*. Possibly! But I will tell you this: happy as I am now, I am not sure that I was not happier still when we were quite poor, pulling, struggling together, hand in hand. I have never dreaded poverty; on the contrary, I have enjoyed it, loved it by your side. To poverty I owe the happiest days of my life. Do you remember, for instance, how we enjoyed the play when, once a month, obscure, unknown to everybody, we went to the upper circle? Wasn't it lovely? And how we often yawn now, once a week in the stalls!

He. Yes, and how we made the dinner shorter, so as to be able to afford the price of two seats in that upper circle?

She. Right, and that's why we enjoyed the play so much. We were not overfed in those days. You cannot enjoy, even appreciate, anything intellectual after a dinner of six or eight courses; you are only fit for a pantomime or a music hall. And that's why those pathetic forms of entertainment are so successful now. Why, look at the people in the boxes, indifferent, half sulky, lifting their eyebrows and staring their eyes out—like that—awful!

He. Yes, all the response, all the appreciation, all the warmth come from the pit and gallery.

She. And do you also remember when, two years after we were married, our *general* suddenly gave notice, and left us alone to manage housekeeping as best we could? And how I cooked all the meals, and how you never enjoyed them better. Now, say it's true.

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He. Perfectly true.

She. And the house was gay, happy, ringing with our laughter all day long; so that, in a month, baby put on six pounds of flesh?

He. And how I cleaned the knives?

She. Which helped your appetite for breakfast.

He. And the boots? Now, I did not like cleaning the boots.

She. Yes, you did, and they never shone so beautifully.

He. Well, I flatter myself I was able to make myself useful.

She. Those were and will always be the dear old days of my life.

He. And how pretty you looked with a white apron on, and your sleeves tucked up, showing your lovely arms?

She. Ah! and how you were once turned out of the kitchen for kissing the cook? You were sorry when I got a new servant.

He. Upon my word, I believe I was.

She. Ah, you will never picnic like that again, you will never have such lovely times. My dear Philip, the very rich people must lead very dull lives. We look for happiness far ahead of us, when often we have it close at hand. The poet is right: Paradise is cheap enough, it's only the hells we make for ourselves that are expensive. We are as rich now as we should ever wish to be. And, let me tell you that, if ever we get really rich (that will be through your fault), I shall find my consolation in the constant recollection of all the pleasures I enjoyed when I was poor—as the ear remains for ever under the charm of some sweet old melody that once struck it. I could go on for ever on this theme. Now, do you know the holiday of my life that I shall never forget?

He. Our trip to Paris with ten pounds in our pockets.

She. That's not fair; you guess too quickly. Well, didn't we do it after all? We saw everything, the museums, the theatres, the gardens; and when we arrived home—

He. We had to borrow one-and-six from the servant to pay the cab fare.

She. Lovely! What fun we had, real, good, wholesome fun! Now, look at our little girl. She will hardly look at the beautiful dolls she has. She always goes back to the old stuffed stocking with a face painted on the ball of cotton that does duty for a head. Now, why? Tell me why she prefers it to all the others.

He. Oh! probably because she can ill-use it to her heart's content.

She. Not a bit of it; because it reminds her of the happiest, the jolliest days of her life. The pleasures of poverty again, my dear Philip, the sweetest, the never-to-be-forgotten ones, alas, never to be enjoyed again, perhaps!

He. I will see that they are not.

She. Oh, Philip, you are teasing me. At any rate, tell me that you are happy now, that the ambition of your life will be your work, your work, not money.

He. Certainly, darling. But let me tell you also, honestly, that the greatest pleasure in connection with my days of poverty—(*pause*).

She. Well?

He. Is that I am poor no longer.

She. You incorrigible cynic!

MAX O'RELL.

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